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SELECTIONS

FROM THE

RECORDS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT.

No. CCCCXLIII.

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT SERIAL NO. 178.

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN HIS EXCELLENCY LORD MINTO AND CERTAIN RULING CHIEFS REGARDING MEASURES TO BE TAKEN FOR THE SUPPRESSION OF SEDITION, AND EXTRACTS FROM SPEECHES DURING HIS EXCELLENCY'S RECENT TOUR.

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SELECTIONS

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1910

FOREIGN DEPARTMENT SELECTIONS.

Correspondence between His Excellency Lord Minto and certain Ruling Chiefs regarding measures to be taken for the suppression of sedition, and extracts from speeches during His Excellency's recent tour.

*Letters from His Excellency Lord Minto * to certain Ruling Chiefs and the replies thereto received up to date.*

1. Letter to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, dated the 6th August 1909.
2. Reply of His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, dated the 15th October 1909.
3. Reply of His Highness the Maharao of Kota, dated the 28th August 1909.
4. Reply of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal, dated the 4th September 1909.
5. Reply of His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi, dated the 6th September 1909.
6. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha, dated the 23rd September 1909.
7. Reply of His Highness the Raja of Dewas, Senior Branch, dated the 28th September 1909.
8. Reply of His Highness the Nawab of Tonk, dated the 29th September 1909.
9. Reply of His Highness the Nawab of Jaora, dated the 30th September 1909.
10. Reply of His Highness the Raja of Ratlam, dated the 6th October 1909.
11. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh, dated the 17th October 1909.
12. Reply of His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar), dated the 19th October 1909.
13. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, dated the 28th October 1909.
14. Reply of His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur, dated the 30th October 1909.
15. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Rewah, dated the 2nd November 1909.
16. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur, dated the 3rd November 1909.
17. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, dated the 11th November 1909.
18. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, dated the 19th November 1909.
19. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior, dated the 3rd December 1909.
20. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner, dated the 29th December 1909.
21. Reply of His Highness the Raja of Dhar, dated the 15th January 1910.
22. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, dated the 6th February 1910.
23. Reply of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar, dated the — February 1910.

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24. Letter of His Highness the Nawab of Rampur, dated the 12th September 1909, to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.
25. Letter of His Highness the Raja of Tehri, dated the 20th September 1909, to His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

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* Separate letters were addressed to each of the Ruling Chiefs. The letter to His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad will indicate sufficiently the purport of the letters.

Numbers 1 to 20 and 24 and 25 were published in a Gazette of India, Extraordinary, dated the 22nd January, 1910, and numbers 21 to 23 in a Gazette of India, Extraordinary, dated the 5th March, 1910.

(1)

Dated Simla, the 6th August 1909.

From—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India,

To—His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad.

After compliments.—Now that seditious people have endeavoured to spread their nefarious doctrines in several of the Native States of India, I feel that it is desirable to address Your Highness on the subject. As those doctrines are subversive of internal peace and good government, the matter is one in which the interests of the Government of India and of the Ruling Princes in India are identical, and Your Highness will, I am confident, agree with me that it is appropriate that we should exchange opinions on the subject with a view to mutual co-operation against a common danger. For although in Your Highness's dominions there is no serious cause for anxiety at present—a result mainly due to the action of Your Highness in dealing with seditious manifestations—I feel that the time has come when we may advantageously concert measures and prepare a policy to exclude effectually seditious agitation. It is very true that in such a matter to be forewarned is to be forearmed.

I wish to assure Your Highness that I do not contemplate or counsel the adoption of any general rules or general course of action. The circumstances of different States vary so greatly, the treaty relations which unite them to the Paramount Power are so diverse, that any general policy would create endless difficulties, even were a general policy desirable. Your Highness will probably agree with me that each State must work out its own policy with reference to local conditions. Should it be necessary to combine in some matters such as in circulating information, and the surveillance of individuals suspected of propagating sedition, I shall still be firmly of opinion that each State should deal with its own problems.

But my advice in regard to the policy to be adopted is likely to be sought; and I should greatly value a full and frank expression of Your Highness's opinion as to the measures which will be effectual in keeping out of Native States the insidious evil of sedition, and the manner in which I could assist towards this end. I feel confident that Your Highness, the old and valued ally of the British Government, will gladly help me with your wise and experienced advice.

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(2)

Dated Purani Hawaili, Hyderabad (Deccan), the 15th October 1909.

From—His Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—The Hon'ble Mr. M. F. O'Dwyer presented to me personally on the 26th August 1909 Your Excellency's esteemed Kharita of the 6th idem regarding the endeavours made by seditious people to spread their nefarious doctrines in several of the Native States of India.

2. I quite agree with Your Excellency in thinking that these doctrines are subversive of internal peace and good government, and that the matter is one in which the interests of the Government of India and of the Indian Princes are identical. I am deeply sensible of the kind consideration with which you have taken me into your confidence and asked me to exchange opinions with Your Excellency with a view to mutual co-operation against a common danger. Once the forces of lawlessness and disorder are let loose there is no knowing where they will stop. It is true that compared with the enormous population of India the disaffected people are a very insignificant minority, but given the time and opportunity there exists the danger of this small minority spreading

its tentacles all over the country, and inoculating with its poisonous doctrines the classes and masses hitherto untouched by this seditious movement.

3. I thank Your Excellency for telling me that in my dominions there is no serious cause for anxiety at present, and that the result is mainly due to my action in dealing with seditious manifestations. I trust I may not be considered an optimist in indulging in the hope that, under God's blessing, there will probably be no cause for anxiety in the future also. My people as a rule are contented, peaceful and law-abiding, and I can say, with pardonable pride, that they are bound to me by ties of affection and loyalty. And as Your Excellency has been pleased to address me by my inherited title as the old and valued ally of the British Government, my people's loyalty to me means loyalty to the British Government also. I need hardly say that it has always been my endeavour to uphold and maintain the traditions of my house. From the very outset, my policy has been to trust my people and to show them that I trust them. I have abstained from causing them alarm by issuing manifestos warning them against sedition. But at the same time I have not been unmindful of the existing danger; and a very strict watch has been kept over local officials, more especially over those who are close to, and might be in sympathy with, the neighbouring seditious places in British India. Orders have been issued to the Police and District-Magistrates not to allow any meetings to be held in which there was any likelihood of inflammatory speeches being made. Petty officials and other persons having a tendency to sympathise with the movement have from time to time been warned, and some of the former have been transferred, in order to break up any attempt to form a clique or combination for undesirable purposes. The head of the Educational Department has been specially directed to exercise strict supervision over teachers and students and to prevent their participation in any political demonstration whatever.

4. So far, any disaffected people coming from outside have not been able to gain a footing in my dominions. Judicious but summary action is taken under my orders in all such cases. Instances have occurred of disaffected individuals from British India arriving here, but my Police have ever kept a careful watch on them, and they have been promptly but quietly sent away from my territory. In matters of this kind, so far as my own dominions are concerned, I implicitly believe in working quietly but with promptitude and firmness. Believing, as I do, in the policy of deportation of undesirable individuals from my dominions, I need hardly say that I am in full sympathy with the Regulation of 1818 which I consider most efficacious in dealing with persons known to be given to sedition.

5. I am at one with Your Excellency in believing that no general rules or general course of action could be laid down as regards the Native States of India. The circumstances of different States are so diversified that one general policy for them all would not certainly be desirable. I am also in thorough agreement with your views that each State should work out its own policy with reference to local conditions. But it is necessary that there should be perfect co-operation in such matters as circulating information and surveillance of individuals suspected of propagating sedition. For this purpose I would ask Your Excellency to allow your Criminal Investigation Department to correspond directly and freely on all such subjects with my Inspector-General of the District Police who may be trusted to exercise discretion and judgment in such matters. It is obvious that unless this procedure is adopted, delays are likely to occur in obtaining information as regards the arrival or departure of suspected individuals. In the same manner I will issue orders to my Police to correspond freely in such matters with the Police in British India.

6. Your Excellency has been so kind as to ask my advice in regard to measures which may prove effectual in keeping out of Native States the insidious evil of sedition, and the manner in which Your Excellency should assist towards this end. My knowledge of the conditions obtaining in different Native States in India is very limited, but if I may venture to express an opinion it would be that Your Excellency should as often as possible write to some principal Ruling Princes and consult with them as regards all important matters touching the welfare of not only the Native States but also the Indian Empire as

a whole. I look upon the Native States in India as the pillars of the Empire, and I feel sure that the Ruling Princes will prove worthy of the confidence and trust that may be reposed in them. Indeed it cannot be otherwise; because as Your Excellency rightly observes in your Kharita, the interests of the Government of India and of the Ruling Princes in India are in this respect quite identical.

7. There are, however, two or three suggestions that I would make for Your Excellency's consideration :—

(1) The Government of India as well as the Provincial Governments and Indian Durbars should as often as possible issue Press Communiqués for the purpose of officially contradicting or correcting false allegations or exaggerated reports, and call upon the newspapers that publish such things to print formal contradiction or correction as directed. It is no longer safe or desirable to treat with silent contempt any perverse statement which is publicly made; because the spread of education, on the one hand, has created a general interest in the news of the country, and a section of the Press, on the other hand, deliberately disseminates news calculated to promote enmity between Europeans and Indians, or to excite hatred of Government and its officers in the ignorant and credulous minds. Official warnings to editors, publishers, proprietors and printers of the offending papers would also have a salutary effect and would probably often save the necessity of public prosecutions which may possibly do more harm than good.

(2) The Native States should prohibit all clubs, libraries and other institutions from subscribing to any papers or journals believed to be instrumental in spreading sedition, and officials subscribing to or taking in such literature should be told that they would be looked upon with disfavour. I have myself taken the initiative in this matter and have issued orders to that effect.

(3) I am also inclined to think that itinerant agitators (often disguised as Sanyasis) are not watched as thoroughly as they should be. Such persons should be followed from province to province and regularly handed over for surveillance.

8. The experience that I have acquired within the last 25 years in ruling my State, encourages me to venture upon a few observations which I trust will be accepted in the spirit in which they are offered. I have already said that my subjects are as a rule contented, peaceful and law-abiding. For this blessing I have to thank my ancestors. They were singularly free from all religious and racial prejudices. Their wisdom and foresight induced them to employ Hindus and Muhammadans, Europeans and Parsis alike in carrying on the administration, and they reposed entire confidence in their officers, whatever religion, race, sect or creed they belonged to. Hence it followed that in the early part of the last century Raja Chundoo Lal was Minister of Hyderabad for over a quarter of a century. The two Daftardars (Record-keepers of the State) were Hindus whose descendants still enjoy the jagirs, offices and honours conferred by my predecessors. Inheriting as I did the policy of my forebears, I endeavoured to follow in their footsteps. My present Minister, the highest official in the State, is, as Your Excellency is aware, a Hindu. One of my four Moin-ul-Mahams is Mr. Casson Walker, whose services have been lent to me by the Government of India. The Secretary to my Government in the Revenue Department is Mr. Dunlop, who has retired from the British service, and Mr. Hankin, who is a Government of India official, is the Inspector-General of my District Police. Although I am a strict Sunni myself, some of my Muhammadan noblemen and high officers of the State are Shias. Arabs and other Muhammadan races number among my State officials. Hindus of all sects, creeds, and denominations serve in my State and many hold high positions. The Revenue administration of one-half of my State is at present entrusted to two Parsis who are Subadars (Commissioners of Divisions). It is in a great measure to this policy that I attribute

the contentment and well-being of my dominions. Your Excellency will, therefore, quite understand how gratified I was to learn of the wise, generous, and liberal policy pursued by Your Excellency and the Secretary of State for India in giving effect to the principles announced in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 and solemnly reaffirmed in the King-Emperor's gracious message to the Princes and Peoples of India in 1908, by appointing an Indian as a member of Your Executive Council and two Indians as members of the Council of the Secretary of State. This liberal policy as also the enlargement of the Legislative Councils will, I earnestly trust, serve to allay the present unrest and to remove altogether the seditious movement which is happily confined to a very small minority.

9. I am a great believer in conciliation and repression going hand in hand to cope with the present condition of India, which is but transitory. While sedition should be localised and rooted out sternly and even mercilessly, deep sympathy and unreserved reliance should manifest themselves in all dealings with loyal subjects without distinction of creed, caste or colour. I am exceedingly glad that this view has commended itself to Your Excellency and I feel sure that the Indian Empire has now entered on a new and brighter era of peace and prosperity under the benign reign of His Majesty the King-Emperor.

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(3)

Dated Kota, the 28th August 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharao of Kota,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita of the 6th August intimating that in Your Excellency's opinion the time had come when concerted action should be taken between the Government of India and the Ruling Princes against all persons endeavouring to spread seditious doctrines and to incite feelings of hostility among the people against the constituted forms of Government.

So far as my State is concerned I am happy to be able to inform Your Excellency, with the utmost confidence, that the baleful disease of sedition is absolutely unknown and, so far, no members of the party of sedition, either openly or disguisedly, have attempted to preach their noxious doctrines among my people. They probably were all aware that any such attempts would not be tolerated for a moment, and that, if made, the persons concerned would be immediately turned out of the State.

Knowing that my people were engrossed in their own agricultural pursuits, that only an infinitesimal minority ever read a newspaper and that the knowledge that in certain remote parts of India a disloyal faction had endeavoured to foster ill-feeling to the British Government and had even perpetrated murderous and violent acts was confined to a few of the higher and official classes, I, at first, did not consider it desirable to excite the childlike curiosity of my people to know what it was all about, and thus draw their attention to the fact that such feelings did unfortunately exist and that unlawful acts of sedition had occurred in India, by promulgating throughout the State special orders dealing with sedition and with explosive substances. Moreover, the promulgation of such orders was not really necessary seeing that, although justice is administered on the lines of the British Codes, personal rule in the Kota State has not been entirely abandoned for rule by legislation and the Kota Courts would have no hesitation in trying a person for an offence not specially or very definitely defined in the Penal Code if directed to do so by the Durbar.

But although the issue of such orders was quite unnecessary so far as the Kota State was concerned, yet cases of attempts to preach sedition against the British Government having been discovered in other Native States, I thought it desirable to show the sedition-mongers in other parts of India that

the Kota Durbar were ready to do all they could, however slight their power might be, to assist the British Government, a Government to whom the State was bound by feelings of the deepest loyalty, devotion and gratitude, to stamp out sedition. Such action seemed likely to deter sedition-mongers from attempting to visit the State for the furtherance of their detestable ideas.

I accordingly issued orders on the 26th July 1909, which, I hope, will effectually prevent any attempts in future in my State either to make seditious utterances or to commit acts of violence by explosive substances.

Copies of my orders have, I understand, been forwarded to the Hon'ble the Agent to the Governor-General and have perhaps by now been submitted for Your Excellency's information. I trust that Your Excellency may be pleased to approve of them.

Special orders for the prevention and punishment of persons attempting to incite sedition or to commit acts of violence by means of explosive substances on the lines of the British Acts having thus been promulgated, there only remains for me to reply to Your Excellency's suggestion regarding the advantage to be obtained by co-operation in certain matters such as in circulating information and watching suspicious characters.

I venture to state that I am entirely in favour of the adoption of Your Excellency's suggestion which, if followed, should be of much practical value.

I am happy to be able to inform Your Excellency that in this respect also, I have been so fortunate as to have been able to anticipate Your Excellency's kind advice. The preventive measures already taken should, I think, be sufficient to prevent sedition-mongers establishing any footing in my State, and I would only add that the task of watching suspicious characters will be greatly facilitated if information, when available, of the probable visit of such persons to my State can be communicated by the British authorities.

In conclusion, I beg to assure Your Excellency that, if any further action in this matter on my part is desired, I will be only too happy to do my utmost to carry into effect the wishes which Your Excellency may be graciously pleased to communicate to me.

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(4)

Dated the 4th September 1909.

From—Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I have to thank Your Excellency for your Kharita of the 6th August in which Your Excellency has asked my advice as to the best way of keeping sedition out of Native States.

I quite agree with Your Excellency in thinking that the seditionists are working not only against the British Administration, but also against the established order of Government and society. It is apparent that we are all in the same boat, and those, therefore, who are working against the established order of Government are working against us.

The various Native States of India are so different to each other in the characteristics of their peoples and other circumstances of equal importance, that it is only the individual rulers of these States who can gauge these matters accurately in so far as their respective peoples are concerned. With due consideration to these circumstances, every Ruling Chief must, I suppose, have, on the lines of the steps taken in this connection by Your Excellency's Government, already thought out the best means for keeping or rooting sedition out of his State. In respect of all this important matter, I can, generally speaking, think of the following measures:—

I. The seditious newspapers to be suppressed and their career of mischief brought to a summary end.

II. Every Ruling Chief to establish, or if need be, to increase, the strength of Secret Police within his territory.

III. All Ruling Chiefs to co-operate with each other in the matter of supplying information and watching bad characters. The Indian Government to be kept informed through the Political Department.

IV. Supervision of teachers in the schools. A little education in etiquette and some religious instruction to be introduced into the curriculums everywhere, so that proper foundation be laid of that loyalty and obedience without which education is not worthy of its name.

V. Exemplary punishments to be meted out to seditionists whenever caught working to attain their nefarious ends.

As far as my own State is concerned, I have every hope that the steps that have already been taken will be fruitful of good results and that my people will, God willing, remain as free from all contamination as they did during the troubled days of 1857.

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(5)

Dated Camp Nainwah, the 6th September 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharao Raja of Bundi,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I am in receipt of Your Excellency's very kind Kharita, dated the 6th August, from Simla, on the subject of the suppression of seditious movements in the Native States, and beg to thank Your Excellency very much for your kindness in asking my advice on so important a subject.

As remarked, the matter is really one in which the interests of the Paramount Power and the Ruling Chiefs are identical; and I beg to assure Your Excellency that I am always ready to co-operate with and serve the British Government, as far as lies in my power, in any matter that concerns the welfare of the empire.

The peace and benefits which India and the Ruling Princes have enjoyed under the kind ægis of the benign and merciful British Government are well known; and it is therefore our bounden duty to see that nothing should happen within our territories that may be prejudicial to the peaceful administration of the empire.

I have already issued a notification throughout my State warning all my subjects and officials against the spread of sedition and disloyalty to the established Government and imposing upon them the duty of arresting any dangerous or suspected persons whenever found in the State. Through Your Excellency's kindness no dangerous persons seem to have visited my State as yet, but if any venture to do so in the future they will be promptly arrested and deterrent punishment awarded them, and information thereof will be submitted to the Political Officer for communication to Your Excellency.

From the copy of the notification which I beg to enclose herewith for Your Excellency's kind perusal, Your Excellency will, I hope, note that it has been printed in the Bundi dialect so that everybody might be able to understand it and act accordingly. A reward has been promised to all who help in this desirable object.

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(6)

Dated the 23rd September 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Orchha,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I thankfully beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's kind and welcome letter of the 6th August 1909. Really I am

very much obliged to Your Excellency for kindly inviting my opinion on an important subject which greatly concerns the Indian Government.

It is evident from some cases of sedition occurred in certain Native States that the seditious party is endeavouring to get a footing in the Native States.

As far as I can think I am perfectly sure that no Native Chief in India will ever like this disloyal movement getting into his State.

The loyalty and the devotion of the Indian Chiefs for the benign British Government are well known to Your Excellency. Moreover as well stated in Your Excellency's letter, I quite agree with Your Excellency that sedition and anarchism are injurious not only to the Indian Government but also to all administrations and the established order of society, the prevention of which is beneficial both to the Paramount Power and the Indian Chiefs alike and therefore I am perfectly sure that no Chief will ever sympathise with such agitators and will spare no means to prevent such agitation and punish the agitators.

I am heartily thankful to Your Excellency for the assurance Your Excellency has given in the letter about the non-interference policy of the Government in the internal affairs of the Native States.

I beg to inform Your Excellency that my State is quite free from this sedition and anarchism. My subjects have no such disloyal feelings up till now, and I pray that the Almighty will always be pleased to preserve their such feelings. However as a precautionary measure I have addressed a message in vernacular to my subjects for general information and warning, asking them to act up to my orders, to continue such loyal feelings towards His Majesty's Imperial Government, the translation of which I annex herewith for Your Excellency's kind perusal.

Over and above this I have instructed my officers to be always on the watch for any suspicious character and to have a very keen eye over his movements, arrival, departure, &c., and to inform the neighbouring district officers when necessary without any delay, and I hope the neighbouring district officers will adopt the same measure. As far as I know I think I have adopted such a policy that sedition is not probable in my State, and it is not likely that any suspicious character if imported from outside may escape detection and punishment.

I am doubtful how far my humble opinion will meet with Your Excellency's approval; however, I beg to say that if Your Excellency sees no objection to such a course I would like to convene a meeting of my brother Chiefs of Bundelkhand, at a convenient place to all, and will put before them my suggestions regarding the prevention of sedition, and after discussing the necessary points with them on the important subject of inter-statal co-operation I shall then be in a position to inform Your Excellency of the final result of our meeting, and I hope this will produce better results. I need hardly inform Your Excellency that my house has ever remained loyal to the British Government. The services rendered by my ancestors in the trying time of the Mutiny of 1857 are well known to Your Excellency. As for myself I respectfully beg to inform you that I was not wanting in those feelings of loyalty to the British Crown, and as a proof of this my services are well known to Your Excellency when in 1893 dakaiti was raging in Lalitpur and Gwalior territories and was spreading in the whole of Bundelkhand. On this and on all former occasions my loyalty has been amply appreciated and rewarded by the benign British Government from time to time. Let me assure Your Excellency that I always pray for the peace and prosperity of the benign British rule under whose fostering care the whole of India enjoys every blessed happiness of justice, order and tranquillity.

In conclusion, let me express my hearty thanks for the keen interest Your Excellency always takes in the welfare of Indian Chiefs generally and my State and myself particularly.

(7)

Dated Dewas, the 28th September 1909.

From—His Highness the Raja of Dewas, Senior Branch,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—It is with extreme pleasure and with intense feelings of thankfulness that I acknowledge Your Excellency's Kharita, dated the 6th August 1909, regarding the suppression of sedition which is of equal importance both to the Paramount British Government and the Ruling Princes. I am in absolute agreement with Your Excellency's view that the time has arrived when we may be well prepared to work hand in hand with each other in circulating information and watching suspicious characters connected with sedition. Of course, Your Excellency has been pleased to state in your Kharita that there is no contemplation of formulating general rules or general course of action which may involve interference in the internal government of the Native States. I for one fully realise Your Excellency's sincere feelings in this matter and assure Your Excellency that not for a moment did I doubt otherwise. Further I am deeply indebted to Your Excellency for offering assistance to Native States generally, and to my State in particular, in case of need. Here I need hardly write that my State and myself are always ready at the service, whenever required, of His Imperial Majesty King Edward VII, Emperor of India, and his Empire.

2. There can be no question, as Your Excellency expressed in your Kharita, that the party of sedition is endeavouring to extend its dark and malicious operations even in Native States. It is a well-known fact that the endeavours of the seditious party are directed not only against the Paramount British Government, but against all constituted forms of government in India, through an absolutely misunderstood sense of "Patriotism" and through an attachment to the popular idea of "Government by people," when every level-headed Indian must admit that India generally has not in any way shown its fitness for a popular Government. Personally, if I were to say a few words on this subject, I should declare that it is historically proved and even well realised by all sound-minded people that India cannot really attain to the standard of popular Government as understood in the West. Reasons for this are manifold, and I feel I may be digressing from the main point contained in Your Excellency's Kharita if I were to write those reasons here in full.

3. I consider it a great privilege to have been asked by Your Excellency to offer my suggestions for suppressing the seditious movement. Now I proceed to make the following few suggestions, which may, I hope, be of some use in dealing with sedition throughout British India and Native States, if they recommend themselves to Your Excellency :—

(1) *Education.*—It is a well-known fact that the germs of the present unrest in India were laid in that benefactor of human race, *viz.*, education. It sounds strange, but there it exists. It is not that education itself is injurious, but much depends on the principles underlying an educational movement. In my opinion, the higher education, temporarily at least, may be made so dear as to prevent every ordinary man who generally has not got the instinct for taking the best advantage of education, and the whole system of education, from primary to higher, may well be combined, as far as practicable, with moral education. Personally, I am all for increasing educational institutions for the use of the public; but I feel that above primary education, which, I must say, ought to be as free as possible and within the reach of almost every person, it is certainly now-a-days a point for discussion as to whether higher education may not be made dear. I realise the difficulties of this question and would suggest that at least the principles of moral education may be more widely attended to in the educational line and that every head of an educational institution may be strictly directed to prevent boys and girls from reading or obtaining seditious writings or mixing with seditious gangs or meetings. Of course, a teacher cannot be responsible for a student after his school-hours; but it may be circulated to all the parents of the boys and girls, who wish to enter their children in schools or colleges, that they will

have to sign a bond for their good and clean conduct in respect of seditious movements, before they are admitted, and thus put the responsibility on the parents as well. Further, all private educational institutions may be obliged to conform to the above-mentioned principles.

(2) *Press.*—Really speaking, a good many of the present newspapers in India deserve to be totally stopped. But there is one point which may be taken fully into consideration. It is this. If the Government stops newspapers totally, there is always a likelihood of more secret societies being formed to exchange views on malicious and dishonourable topics. Hence, the question arises whether it is better to allow views on the movement to be given a free or controlled vent to them and thus get an idea of the movement, or to suppress the publicity of the views totally and thus give a chance to further secret societies. At the same time, Indian papers have reached a stage when they cannot be allowed to be published without more control, because they have been the cause of greatest harm. Hence, I suggest that both in British India and in Native States, the respective local Governments may appoint a committee or a person or an officer to review all the writings of the Press, excepting those pertaining to commerce, medicine, health and general advertisements, and those writings that are to be published under the orders of the Paramount British Government or under the orders of the Durbars of the Native States, before they are published, and thus prevent the minds of the people from being corrupted for nothing. Further, any violation of laws framed for directing the Press, may be severely and unfailingly checked. These remarks may also apply equally well to all kinds of publications and writings, such as pamphlets and books.

(3) *Summary trials and political punishments.*—It is, in my opinion, very necessary that seditious offences being political offences, they may be disposed of in a summary method and much publicity to the proceedings may be stopped, because this for nothing creates misunderstandings and gives room for unnecessary criticism. This may be extended practically throughout British India by the Paramount Government of India and by the Ruling Princes of all the Native States throughout their territories. In this connection, it must be stated that, whenever possible and advisable, the Political Law; on the lines of Act III of 1818, may be enforced in more instances and offenders may either be deported to other places from their own native places or kept in local jails till further orders, when it is thought proper to release them. I lay great stress on these two points and feel confident that, though they may appear arbitrary to some to start with, yet these methods of dealing with political offenders in India are quite suited to the country and the peoples and may prove of immense help to the British Government and to the Native States in the end.

(4) *Sadhus and Fakirs and others of the kind.*—Under the guise of religious mendicants, it is quite probable that many Sadhus and Fakirs and others of the kind move about preaching or communicating seditious views. Such people may be strictly watched, and every person, who suspects any of these religious mendicants in any way connected with sedition, may be made compulsory by law to report the matter under penalty. Further, if such mendicants live or assemble in private houses temporarily or permanently, the owner of the house may be made by law responsible. The same remarks may apply to religious Samajes or bodies.

4. The above-stated are the few suggestions of mine for suppressing sedition in British India and for the Native Princes to do the same in their territories, which, I hope, may recommend themselves to Your Excellency. And I trust Your Excellency will excuse me if there is delay in replying to Your Excellency's Kharita, but I can assure Your Excellency that the delay is due to the weightiness of the subject.

5. In conclusion, I need hardly assure Your Excellency of my readiness to do my utmost to put down sedition within the limits of my territory and whenever necessary to be of help to the Paramount Government outside the State, because I fully realise that the interests of the Paramount British Government and my State are quite identical in this matter, and further

it is, I consider, my duty to be, as I have said above, ready at the service of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor, and to put a stop to anything improperly said, written or done against His Imperial Majesty's Government.

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(8)

Dated Tonk, the 29th September 1909.

From—His Highness the Nawab of Tonk,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's kind Kharita, dated the 6th August 1909, received through the Political Agent, Haraoti and Tonk, and beg to express my heartfelt thanks that I have been called on to express an opinion on a matter which is of equal concern both to the Imperial Government and to the Native States. I greatly regret that there should exist such persons who have adopted or may adopt an attitude of sedition and insubordination against the British Government. They seem to have forgotten the innumerable obligations which they owe to the British Government—a Government whose sole care is to provide for the prosperity and welfare of the people of India; who has taught them civilisation, opened paths of progress for them and who preserves peace and order. Surely it is the greatest ingratitude to adopt a hostile attitude against such Government.

It is not secret from Your Excellency or the Imperial Government that I am a loyal and staunch friend of the British Government and wish to assure Your Excellency that I shall never deviate from this path and will ever remain a loyal supporter of the British Government. The ties that connect this State with the Imperial Government are stronger than those of other States, inasmuch as this State was granted by the British Government itself. I thus naturally look upon the extermination of the enemies of the British Government as my bounden duty, and it was with a view to prevent the propagation of sedition that six months ago I passed an Act, and as necessity may arise from time to time necessary additions will be made therein prohibiting my people from any connection or correspondence with those who have made it their profession to preach sedition against the British Government and directing them not to cherish or entertain any ideas antagonistic to the constituted form of Government, otherwise they will suffer severe penalties.

I concur with Your Excellency's proposal that the British Government and the Native States should inform each other of the arrival and movements of any seditious persons, and I assure Your Excellency that this principle shall be rigidly followed in my State.

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(9)

Dated Jaora, the 30th September 1909.

From—His Highness the Nawab of Jaora,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I beg to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita of the 6th August 1909.

I myself had, some months ago, conceived the idea expressed in the first part of Your Excellency's letter about sedition, and dreading lest its progress should reach the limits of my State, I had taken such steps as I could to guard against the contending evil and influence.

I might add, for Your Excellency's information, that on the 30th October 1908 the Jaora Durbar communicated to the Political Agent in Malwa that "the Jaora State does not contain either the admirers of Shivaji or the followers

of Tilak and is therefore entirely free from any sedition or mischievous agitation. The ruler and his subjects are as ever united and strong in their loyalty and allegiance to the Crown * * * if there happens to be any (seditious case) in future, the Durbar would lose no time in dealing strongly with the offender and in bringing the matter to your notice."

I am very glad to say that what I declared ten months ago, holds true down to this day, and I confidently trust that the State shall as hitherto remain free from the taint for ever.

I beg to assure Your Excellency that any measures other than those described above which Your Excellency's Government may suggest or prescribe shall be most willingly acted upon by the Durbar.

I might also draw Your Excellency's attention to the Press. I admit that the Press has much to do in elevating mankind, but I also think that, without restriction or control, the Press is as just apt to err on the wrong side as to mark the right path on the other. I might go further and say that it is the Press or certain papers solely that have been the cause of widening the gulf between the rulers and the ruled, and that they are mainly responsible for the present situation. They have been the instruments of disseminating seditious ideas and thoughts among the public. Masses of the Indian population of any sect or creed are loyal to the core of their heart to the British Government. It is therefore necessary that the Press should not be allowed to play too freely with the ignorant public and excite religious feelings and susceptibilities of one community against the other. Consequently some measures are imperative to effect a closer scrutiny and control over the Press.

My next point is education. Religious education is the key-note to the formation of character. This important branch has to be neglected in schools, because owing to diverse creeds and nationalities, the Government cannot undertake to impart religious instruction and the people themselves do not seem to realise that ideal, as their sole anxiety is to give them English education as soon as their children are fit to receive it. With religious education there is also a subservience of indigenous language or mother tongue, which keeps back the educated youths from imbibing properly the noble traditions of their ancient lineage and family. They join the school early where they spend only a few hours a day and the rest with bad associates at home. If residential institution were established with every school, it will have a beneficial effect on the moulding of the character of the boys. As for the required funds, the Government cannot, of course, take the whole burden upon its shoulders and the people must come forward to help themselves.

The desirable results may also be secured in some measure by the selection of good teachers, men who are endowed with noble ideas, matured counsel and judgment and free from any of the dangers of a little knowledge. It matters little to what religion these may profess to belong, since the analysis of all religions in the world shows in its composition the elements of the same code of morals and virtue. The pupils may safely be put in charge of such good and able hands not during school hours only, but for the whole period of their educational life.

Another cause which has assisted in bringing on the present state of affairs is the treatment of seditionists according to law. Undoubtedly the British Government cannot but deal with such cases according to law, but what I mean is that the rigour of the law in particular matters calculated to endanger the Sovereign's prestige should be severe and quick. Regular trials like those that have recently been held in Bengal do, in my humble opinion, more harm than good, as the longer the proceedings are protracted, the greater are the chances for craftiness to do its work.

I feel under deep obligation to Your Excellency for your so kindly offering assistance to my State, and I beg to say that whenever I and my State stand in need of help, I shall most certainly approach Government.

(10)

Dated Ratlam, the 6th October 1909.

From—His Highness the Raja of Ratlam,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—In acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita regarding measures to be adopted against the party of sedition which has been found endeavouring to establish branches in certain Native States, I would, in the first place, express my feeling of gratitude and pride that a statesman like Your Excellency should consider me worthy of being the recipient of your confidence and take counsel with me in this matter, which is indeed of grave importance both to the Supreme Government and to the Native Princes.

2. In the second place, I am delighted to be able to observe that within the limits of my State no seditious or revolutionary movement exists. On the contrary, all my subjects and officials love the British Government as much as they love me; and should any evil-minded persons enter this State clandestinely to sow seeds of disaffection towards the British Government, they will, I confidently prophesy, meet with scant success, and on being detected will certainly fare very badly indeed.

3. The blessing of peace under the enlightened and benign British Government, which blessing was unknown in olden times, is threatened by this baneful movement; and it is the duty of every Native Prince to readily combine with the Paramount Power to eradicate the rank growth of seditious and revolutionary spirit observable in a few ungrateful persons belonging to two or three communities, who have profited the most by the educational facilities graciously offered by the civilised British rule.

4. To be able to thwart the machinations of the party of sedition, we must have a clear notion of their *modus operandi*. The society seems to have been divided into four departments, *viz.*—(1) the mechanical, (2) educational, (3) the journalistic, and (4) the spiritual.

5. We have therefore to deal with (1) the actual murderers who are the maddened school-boys or collegians; (2) the imparters of national education, who literally as well as metaphorically teach the young idea how to shoot; (3) the ultra-patriotic journalists who always criticise Government policy adversely and try to make people believe that there is legalised and systematic loot in the present *régime;* and (4) missionaries or religious workers who are by no means as innocent as lambs and work on the religious sentiments of the villagers and the ignorant, whose number is legion.

6. Now, the Penal Code, the Explosive Substances Act and other Acts passed from time to time for maintaining law and order will look after the first department effectually. It is, however, necessary to advise that the Government will lose no time in framing new laws whenever the existing legislation will be found inadequate to cope with any emergency.

7. It has been observed in a majority of cases that it is among the student population that the agitation has mostly found a home. The conspirators have found that their older countrymen are not amenable to their preachings which are apparently shortsighted and of a disastrous character and have therefore worked on the highly impressionable youthful minds. The University reform scheme will deal with this department. The selection of teachers, especially of heads of schools and colleges, should be carefully made, or the young mind will be allowed to be poisoned till the disease will become chronic and incurable.

8. The Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act deals with the journals which are too patriotic. But legal technicalities which are growing more and more complex every day afford so many loop-holes through which the offenders often escape when prosecuted. This therefore necessitates the organisation of a press censorship in this country. Under the present circumstances, the courts of justice on the publication of seditious matter in a paper can rule whether it should not cease to exist; but, as pointed out above, the court's decision is hampered by legal technicalities of an intricate nature. The formation

of a committee of press censors should act as a wholesome control on cheap and nasty journals. So much for the third department.

9. But the last department of the society of sedition, *viz.*, the spiritual, has not been hitherto paid any attention to.

10. That Hindus and for the matter of that all oriental peoples are swayed more by religion than by anything else is quite patent to the party of sedition as it is to the Government themselves. The latter have hitherto adopted, and rightly adopted, the policy of allowing the different communities perfect freedom in the matter of their religious beliefs. So much so that even public nuisances have been tolerated if committed by any section in the name of religion. As an example in point, the feeling of tenderness to animal life, even vermin life, shown by Jains and some Hindus has been respected by Government to such an extent that they refrain from enforcing the destruction of rats recommended by eminent medical authorities as a preventive measure against plague. Perhaps so far the Government have been acting wisely; but when it is noticed that seditionists are seeking to connect their anarchical movement with religion, and the political Sadhu is abroad, it is high time to change the policy of non-interference in so-called religious affairs.

11. In the name of religion the Thugs murdered innocent people, but Government was not deterred from exterminating thuggism from their anxiety not to interfere with so-called religious beliefs. Sati also has been abolished, though it had been practised under the sanction of religious books.

12. The new religion which is being now preached by so-called religious associations under the pretence of reviving old religions is nothing but the cult of the swadeshi, the adoration of the motherland, self-respect, worship of heroes like Shivaji, and the doctrine of India for the Indians only.

13. It pains me to write as above; but already religion has played a prominent part in this matter, for religious books were found in almost every search made for weapons and bombs. The rôle of the priest or the Sadhu is most convenient, and rulers have bowed and do bow to religious preachers. These people generally distort the real import of religious precepts and thereby vitiate the public mind. The founders are sly enough to flatter the Government by an occasional address breathing loyalty and friendship; but it is essential to check this sudden growth of piety and religious propaganda.

14. These are my views of the present state of affairs. I have expressed them freely.

15. To recapitulate, then, we must watch suspicious characters and not allow them to enter our States and combine in circulating information about the movements of such people. We must exercise due care in the selection of at least the heads of the educational institutions, schools and colleges. In the absence of censorship the Native States must prohibit the circulation in their territories of the papers whose one object is to decry everything British. We must view with suspicion any sudden growth of religious activity, and we must set a good example by publicly expressing our horror of seditious and anarchical movements; and this is the duty we owe to the British Government who have secured to us our possession of the States we rule over.

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(11)

Dated the 17th October 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Kishangarh,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I write to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita, dated Simla, the 6th August 1909, which was delivered to me by the Resident, Colonel Showers, on the 24th ultimo. The subject is not quite new to me, as I have been watching during the last two years, with great concern, the trend of events in British India. The campaign of vilification and calumny directed ungratefully against the Paramount Power and its officers, whose sole

object is India's peace and prosperity, has been for a long time prosecuted by professional libellers whose wicked industry has been aided by the intrigues of a few disappointed and over-ambitious young men. The evil has spread; it has infected certain Native States; and recent events of violence and lawlessness such as have shocked humanity, go to show that the party of sedition has not yet slackened its efforts, much less abandoned them. The Ruling Princes of India, even more than the Paramount Power, are interested in stamping out the evil; and no one is better supplied with weapons than they to scatter and defeat the forces of anarchy should they make appearance within their dominions.

I feel quite flattered in being asked to co-operate with the Paramount Power in fighting a common enemy; and I take this occasion to assure Your Excellency that no sacrifice will be deemed by me too great to make in the interests of the Government, whose protection and friendship my State has uninterruptedly enjoyed for nearly a century.

As regards the present position of affairs in my State, I fully believe that it is absolutely free so far from the taint of sedition, such as I have described above; and that the propagators of anarchical doctrines have never thought it safe to direct their mischievous activities in any part of my territory. I do not apprehend that any of my subjects will ever be tempted into the criminal folly of entertaining feelings of disaffection and ill-will against the British Government; but what I do fear is that the malignant insanity which has affected certain sections of the community in British India will, if not checked at its source, continue to spread through the land, and some of my peaceful subjects may unwittingly be involved in the mischief. It is also probable that evil-minded persons finding their actions watched in British India may take advantage of our less efficient police systems, and make use of our territory as centres from which to carry on their campaign against the Government. I need not say I shall do all in my power to prevent this happening; but at the same time if I may say so, it is at an earlier stage that the mischief should be checked, *viz.*, before it has had time to spread beyond British India.

I am aware that much of the anarchical propaganda is diffused under the seductive name of religion; and hence in a great measure the difficulty of detecting crime of this kind. I entirely concur with Your Excellency that rather than wait for the advent of the evil, it would be wise to concert measures in time for its prevention. I have directed my Council to include in the schedule of offences all acts and omissions which have been made penal in British India under the Explosive Substances Act, 1908, the Newspaper (Incitement to Offences) Act, 1908, the Prevention of Seditious Meetings Act, 1907: offences of this nature will be considered equally penal whether committed or intended to be committed in Kishangarh or British India. The procedure which I propose adopting with respect to such seditious cases that may come to light is that all trials will be held in a summary way, by the Court in my State that can pass the highest sentences; and that all sentences passed will be final, subject only to my confirmation. I cannot but think that long drawn-out trials in such cases are an encouragement to, rather than a deterrent against, the continuance of these offences. I will further order that it will be obligatory upon every subject of mine to give forthwith to the nearest Magistrate or Police Officer information of the commission or intention to commit any of the offences alluded to above, whether in Kishangarh territory or British India. Any one withholding information will be seriously dealt with; so also any one harbouring or screening an offender of this class, whether he be my subject or not.

To make my views universally known, I also propose issuing a proclamation on the occasion of the Dasehra, when all my nobles and high officials will be assembled. I will then emphatically proclaim my utmost abhorrence and detestation of the vile deeds recently enacted in British India and England; and I will exhort my subjects to help me in keeping out of my territory the enemies of the British Government under whose ægis I am enabled to maintain a just and prosperous rule in the State.

In circulating information and watching suspicious characters, I am willing to co-operate with the British Government in any way it may be desired, and I will now take, moreover, a personal interest in the matter, and be ready both in this and any other matter that may arise to devote my utmost endeavours to the assistance of the Paramount Power.

Thanking Your Excellency again for consulting me.

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(12)

Dated Udaipur, the 19th October 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur, Mewar,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I write to acknowledge, with thanks, the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita of the 6th August, asking my advice as regards measures to be adopted in connection with the mischievous efforts of some seditious people working in certain parts of British India with a view to create disquietude in the peaceful administration of the British Government and to spread their malevolous influence in other quarters as well. I deeply regret that those ill-advised people, under disguise of doing good to their country, have created an agitation which is detrimental to all good government and social administration. I believe, and every one will agree with me, that those mischievous people are suicidal in their attempts and will bring ruin on themselves.

It is a great disgrace to their name as also their religious beliefs that, in spite of the great prosperity India has been enjoying under the British *régime*, those people are acting in such an ungrateful way. I also endorse the opinion that such seditious attempts must be nipped in the bud; and the measures adopted by the British Government were undoubtedly expedient on the occasion to preserve the peace of the country.

All Rulers of Native States should heartily co-operate in guarding their respective subjects from mixing with those ill-advised people, who devise such hateful conspiracies and agitations, and they should try their best to realise the wishes of the Government of India on this occasion, nor should they allow such agitations to spread in their respective territories.

I am, however, glad to declare that in my territory there is no sign of any seditious movement at the present moment, and I hope there will be none in the future too. As this State of Mewar always desires the welfare of the British Government, its subjects will ever remain loyal, and will always try to undo the efforts of the agitators against the British Government. In case I discern any signs of such movements, I shall at once adopt strong measures to suppress them. I have, with a view to warn my subjects, already issued a proclamation to the effect that they should not be misled by the wicked advice of mischievous agitators against the British Government.

In conclusion, I desire to express the high consideration which I entertain for Your Excellency.

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(13)

Dated Jammu, the 28th October 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita, dated the 6th August 1909, conveying Your Excellency's warm approval of my humble efforts in connection with the suppression of feelings of sedition and unrest that have, unfortunately, for some time past, been prevailing in certain parts of the Indian Empire.

I am extremely glad to be able to tell Your Excellency that, with the exception of one solitary instance which, as Your Excellency is perhaps aware, was dealt with with the utmost promptitude possible, there has been no sign of any unrest or disaffection in my territories, and I think I can safely give Your Excellency my sincerest assurance that my subjects, faithful to the traditions

of the past, entertain sentiments of profound loyalty and devotion to the Paramount Power. It is a matter of no less gratification to me to add, for Your Excellency's information, that those feelings of loyalty and devotion which both the ruling family and its subjects have cherished as a sacred trust since the State was recruited under the ægis of the British Raj have been strengthened by the notification which, Your Excellency is aware, I took care to issue in 1907 as a precautionary measure impressing upon my people in the strongest and clearest terms possible that all feelings of anarchy and sedition are ruinous to the peace of the country, and as such are looked upon by me with the deepest abhorrence and detestation.

I need hardly submit to Your Excellency that, being fully alive to the patent fact that it is of vital importance alike to the Paramount Power and its feudatories to co-operate in preserving peace and order in the empire, I have, since the first appearance of the signs of disaffection and discontent among certain perverted and irresponsible people in British India, not only kept a most watchful eye on my subjects, but have thought it fit to adopt stringent measures to keep undesirable and suspicious characters out of my State and to otherwise guard against any possible dissemination of any seditious ideas among my people.

While heartily thanking Your Excellency for the honour done me by kindly giving me an opportunity to express my opinion on the delicate and vexed question of how to suppress unrest and sedition in Native States generally, I venture to state that, so far as I am aware, the few incidents of a seditious character that might come to notice in some of the Native States are by no means of local origin, being entirely traceable to outside evil influence. I, for one, am firmly convinced of the staunch and unshaken loyalty and devotion of the Indian Chiefs and their subjects, and think that seditious movements or anything inimical to the interest of the British Raj can find no footing there. But in view of the fact that dangerous elements may enter State territory secretly and unobserved and corrupt popular minds, if proper watch is not kept on arrivals of such elements from outside, I consider that the Chiefs should exert their personal influence on their subjects to prevent their imbibing poisonous ideas of sedition and anarchy and should put down promptly and with a strong hand the least symptom of demonstrations that can even be remotely connected with sedition and unrest; that secret and vigilant watch should be kept on the movements of irresponsible and suspicious persons visiting the State territories; that circulation of disloyal and inflammatory literature should altogether be put a stop to; and that last, though not the least, particular care should be taken to see that teachers and professors of schools and colleges in the several States are men of high religious and moral principles, free from any doubtful political views and ideals, so that the rising generation, under their care, may grow to be perfectly loyal and faithful citizens of the British Empire.

But to give a practical shape to these and similar other allied matters and to achieve the best results, it is essential, I think, for the Chiefs to mutually co-operate and to have opportunities of freely exchanging their views with one another. Considering the peculiar nature of the case, this seems to me to be the most suitable means by which prompt and effective measures could be taken to deal with the situation.

As regards the question as to how the desired co-operation may be effected, I leave the matter to Your Excellency's deliberation and wise judgment. I shall anxiously await Your Excellency's advice before I take any further action in the matter.

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(14)

Dated Dholpur, the 30th October 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—Your Excellency's esteemed Kharita of the 6th August regarding the endeavours of the persons who are trying to spread sedition in British India, as well as in certain Native States, was duly received by me.

I hasten to thank Your Excellency most cordially for the timely advice and warning conveyed therein.

I am quite alive to the fact that the welfare of the Paramount Power is the welfare of the Native States.

Although no signs whatsoever of the mischievous activities of the sedition-mongers have yet been discovered in my State, I have always been wideawake in this connection, and the State authorities are under instructions to be very vigilant and to be on the watch as regards the movements of any suspicious characters. Moreover, with a view to dealing promptly with any case of sedition that may occur in the future, as well as to minimising any chances of such an emergency arising, I have issued certain orders, a copy of which is herewith enclosed for favour of Your Excellency's perusal.

I feel highly honoured at Your Excellency asking my humble advice in the matter.

My humble opinion is as follows:—

(*a*) A regular system of exchanging information between the Native States and the British Police should be established, and whenever necessary these reports regarding the movements of seditious characters should be made by telegram.

(*b*) All the newspapers likely to publish seditious articles should be severely censored, *i.e.*, more than they are now.

(*c*) I have been observing carefully the judgment passed on persons who have been convicted of sedition, and in my humble opinion they have all been too leniently dealt with.

I assure Your Excellency that my State will always be at Your Excellency's service, and we will spill our blood if need be.

Any order or advice that Your Excellency may be pleased to favour us with will be received with due respect.

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(15)

Dated Rewah Fort, the 2nd November 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Rewah,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I am much obliged for Your Excellency's Kharita of the 6th August last and for the compliment paid in consulting me about a matter, which, as Your Excellency remarks, is one in which the interests of the Paramount Power and Ruling Princes of India are identical.

2. I learn from newspapers that the seditionists have endeavoured to gain a footing in certain Native States, but I believe they have been foiled. I am glad to say that there has been no trouble in my State. My people are loyal and I have heard of no attempts being made in that nefarious direction in my territories. Should any steps be necessary executive or legal action can be taken by me at once, and I wish to assure Your Excellency that the Rewah Durbar will always most gladly co-operate with the officers of Your Excellency's Government in the suppression of the seditious propaganda and political crime. I have warned my chief officers in the districts and at the head-quarters to keep a careful watch over suspicious characters so that action may be taken here, if necessary, or information circulated to Government officers in British India.

3. Thanking Your Excellency for the very kind offer of assistance.

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(16)

Dated Jodhpur, the 3rd November 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Jodhpur,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I beg to acknowledge with many thanks the receipt of Your Excellency's kind Kharita, dated the 6th August last.

2. I have been watching with much concern the movement set up by sedition-mongers in certain Native States; but as regards Marwar, it is needless for me to assure Your Excellency that they will be given no quarter.

3. At present their *modus operandi* seems to be—

(1) the criminal use of explosives;

(2) the preaching of sedition;

(3) the dissemination of seditious writings, whether by leaflets, pamphlets or periodicals; and

(4) malevolent criticism of the actions of the Supreme Government.

4. With regard to (1), I have already taken the necessary steps by promulgating an Explosive Act in May last. It is my sincere belief that the stern attitude adopted by the Durbar will hardly afford any one the opportunity of creating a depôt for, or of keeping or using any explosives in this country, or of finding shelter in Marwar after they have been guilty of any of the offences included under the said Act. To place matters on a constitutional basis, I am, with the entire concurrence of my nobles and people, passing an Act making actions falling under categories (2), (3) and (4) penal, and I take this opportunity of submitting a copy of the same for Your Excellency's information.

5. I would at the same time ask Your Excellency's Government to include offences under sub-heads (2), (3) and (4) in article 5 of our Extradition Treaty.

6. For offences that are likely to fall under sections 3, 8, and 9 of my Act, I would feel obliged, as Your Excellency has foreshadowed in the 2nd paragraph of Your Excellency's Kharita, if the Criminal Intelligence Department be ordered to furnish my Durbar with such information as may enable them to watch suspicious characters and to stop the circulation of seditious writings.

7. This Durbar has ever been and shall always be ready to co-operate with the Supreme Government in any measure calculated to strengthen and consolidate the British Empire and to arrest and eradicate seditious movements.

8. It shall ever be my pleasant duty to do my best in concerting measures against the enemy of the British Empire, whom I consider as my personal enemy.

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(17)

Dated Mysore Palace, the 11th November 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—In acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita of the 6th August last, I desire to express my appreciation of the confidence which Your Excellency has reposed in me by writing so frankly and fully on the subject of "Sedition in the Native States of India." The question is one which has been the subject of anxious consideration on my part, and I can assure Your Excellency that I shall never relax my efforts to prevent the nefarious doctrines of sedition from taking root in Mysore. I welcome the opportunity which Your Excellency has given me of expressing my opinions on the subject with a view to our mutually co-operating against a common danger.

It is, as Your Excellency points out, impossible to contemplate the adoption of any general rules or general course of action, and I trust therefore that Your Excellency will be satisfied with a general assurance on my part that I am resolved to deal promptly and rigorously with anarchy and sedition in whatever shape it may present itself within the borders of my State. No preacher of seditious doctrines shall be permitted to poison the minds of my subjects, and I shall promptly repress any attempt to sow the seeds of sedition either by prosecuting the offending individual under the criminal law or

by expelling him from my dominions. My own magistracy and police are on the alert to discover and report the advent of all seditious preachers, and I shall, if necessary, issue renewed and stringent orders on the subject. It is not, however, sufficient in my opinion for the Ruler of a Native State to merely discountenance the open preaching of sedition, for I hold that every Ruling Chief is bound to let it be clearly understood that he will view with strong displeasure any person, however high his rank and however valuable his public services, who in any way associates himself with doctrines which have produced the well-known extremist party in British India.

I shall not hesitate to express my reprobation of the entertainment of extremist views whenever an occasion should arise.

As regards seditious writings in the newspapers, I have armed myself by means of the Mysore Newspaper Regulation with ample and unrestricted powers to prevent the circulation, through the press, of anarchical and seditious propaganda among my subjects. I venture to observe in this connection that the distinguishing feature of the above Regulation is the complete power which it gives to the Executive Government of my State to deal with the evil against which the Regulation is aimed. From my point of view it seems a cardinal error in a country like India to tie the hands of the executive in dealing with the seditious press and to allow the tedious, cumbersome and expensive machinery of the Courts of Law to decide the question of fact whether or not a particular newspaper is seditious and should be suppressed. It is, I consider, essential that the executive Government should have a free hand to deal promptly and vigorously with seditious journalism without any interference from the Courts of Law, and I earnestly commend this prominent feature of the Mysore Regulation to Your Excellency's consideration. I may conclude this portion of my argument by assuring Your Excellency that I have found this Regulation a most useful and efficacious weapon against sedition. The attacks which have been made in the press upon the legislation in question have caused me no concern, for I feel that it is only the actual evil-doers who will be affected by the new law and that no really loyal subject need apprehend that his legitimate rights will be in any measure curtailed thereby. I am convinced that the Regulation was a wise and most necessary measure, and I have no intention of modifying it.

Your Excellency refers in the second paragraph of the letter under reply to a necessity that may possibly arise for the Indian Princes to combine with the Government of India in some matters such as circulating information and the surveillance of individuals suspected of sedition. On this point I need hardly say that I should give my most careful consideration to any further suggestions that it may occur to Your Excellency's Government to make to me. I myself contemplate introducing on British Indian lines a more careful supervision over the publications of the vernacular press of my province by means of periodical extracts translated from the various newspapers and printed for circulation among the principal officers of the magistracy and police.

In conclusion, I may fairly claim for my own people that they have always retained a vivid recollection of the many benefits which Mysore has received from British rule. With the exception of an ebullition on the part of the local press (the handiwork of a very small and irresponsible section of the educated classes among my subjects influenced by wild utterances of their brethren elsewhere), which was met and promptly suppressed by the enactment of the Newspaper Regulation, I can confidently assert that there are no more loyal subjects of His Majesty in India than the people of Mysore. Anarchy and sedition have so far never taken root in my dominions, and I venture to say that universal feeling among my subjects is one of friendliness, gratitude and loyalty towards the Paramount Power. It is my fervent prayer that this sentiment may long continue.

I deeply appreciate the feeling of consideration for myself to which Your Excellency has given expression. I take this opportunity to express on my part the great regard which I feel for Your Excellency, and with feelings of high consideration and respect I beg to subscribe myself.

(18)

Dated Lakshmi Vilas Palace, Baroda, the 19th November 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I have had the pleasure of receiving, by the hands of my friend Mr. Bosanquet, Your Excellency's esteemed Kharita, dated the 6th August last, conveying a warning that seditious people are endeavouring to establish their evil doctrines and practices in the Native States of India, and seeking my counsel as to how we can best assist one another in stamping out the common enemy.

2. I am deeply concerned to find that a new element has unfortunately been introduced into the country which not only aims at the embarrassment of the British administration, but works openly or covertly against the constituted order of society.

3. The extent to which sedition has actually spread in Native States is not known to me. I was anxious to inform myself more fully on this subject, and to know the condition of affairs in other States generally, before replying to Your Excellency's Kharita. I was informed, however, through the Resident that such information could not be communicated, and I was referred to such reports as had appeared in newspapers. Judging from these reports there has been trouble only in one or two States, and I trust and hope that the evil will not spread any further.

4. Your Excellency rightly observes that the interests of the Ruling Princes and the Paramount Power are identical, and I fully agree with Your Excellency in thinking that much good may result from a full, frank and friendly discussion on this grave question. It is obviously the duty of every Government to stamp out the forces which make for anarchy and sedition.

5. Since receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita I have obtained full information from my Police Department, and have also caused a Note to be drawn up by my Minister, with regard to the influence which itinerant men, mostly from British territory, have sought to exert on my State, and the precautions which have been taken. Copy of a Memorandum prepared for my information by my Minister is enclosed for the information of your Government. The subject receives the continuous attention of my officers, and such measures as may be considered needful from time to time will be adopted in the future.

6. I conclude by assuring Your Excellency that I am deeply conscious of my own responsibility in preserving peace and tranquillity in my State. I shall welcome any opportunities for a close consultation in these matters with your Government, whenever necessary; and I shall ever be ready to cordially respond to any reasonable call for co-operation and assistance in repressing anarchy and sedition.

7. With an expression of the high consideration I entertain for Your Excellency, &c.

Minister's Note.

Itinerant lecturers from outside occasionally visit the State of Baroda with the object of preaching reformation, or greater devotion to religion, or the encouragement of goods of Indian manufacture, etc. In course of these lectures, which are themselves harmless, doctrines are sometimes introduced which are objectionable. The Police have instructions to be watchful, and take the necessary action in such cases.

2. It appears that in the course of 18 months from the beginning of the year 1908, there were some thirty visitors, mostly from British India, whose movements were watched by the Police. Most of them were harmless lecturers who spoke on the Swadeshi movement, on unity between Hindus and Muham-

madans, on the preservation of cows, on industries, on export of grain, on national education and physical culture, on the four stages of life and on caste, on the caste rights of goldsmiths and blacksmiths, on the Hindu, Muhammadan, Christian and Buddhist religions, on Indians in South Africa, on the Vedas and the Vedic religion, and on similar subjects. A few of these visitors spoke on subjects of a distinctly political character or in a tone which was inflammatory; they were all watched, and soon left the State. In some other cases, the subject of the proposed lectures was the Swadeshi movement, but as the speakers were known to be political agitators, no meetings were permitted to be held.

3. Within the last few years, the Residency also brought to the notice of this Government a number of cases in which itinerant preachers from outside entered the State with the object of disseminating their views and doctrines among the people. His Highness's Government have responded to these friendly communications in every instance, have supplied information when information was asked for, have made enquiries, and have taken the necessary action when any action was called for.

4. Newspapers in this State, which are in their infancy, and generally uninformed, at times write articles in connection with these movements. Whenever anything of an objectionable character is published in them, the editors concerned are sent for and reprimanded, and in one recent case, the editor publicly apologised for his indiscreet writings. The Rules relating to Printing Presses and Newspapers in the State, framed many years ago, have recently been revised in view of the present state of political unrest in some parts of British India, and the question of a further revision, if need be, is always before the eyes of the Government.

5. Teachers and pupils of the several educational institutions in the State have hitherto held themselves aloof from associating themselves with political movements, and taking any part in organising and carrying on political agitation. The principles laid down by the Government of India in 1907 with the object of protecting higher education in India from this danger, were communicated to His Highness's Government by the Resident, and all the educational authorities in the State have been instructed to bear them in mind, and act up to the spirit of the same.

6. The Police of the State have instructions to be vigilant, and to bring promptly to notice all matters relating to seditious movements. The machinery for obtaining information has recently been reorganised. And with a view to arm the Police with more effective powers for the purposes of prevention, an amendment of the Police Act is now under consideration.

BARODA:
The 31st October 1909.

ROMESH DUTT,
Dewan.

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(19)

Dated Gwalior, the 3rd December 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I have been much honoured and gratified by receiving Your Excellency's gracious letter of 6th August appreciating my action in the matter of sedition, and I am grateful for the confidence reposed in me by asking for my advice as to the best way of keeping sedition out of Native States generally.

2. The question is undoubtedly a grave one, affecting as it does the future well-being of India. Therefore I feel it particularly behoves those who preside over the destinies of people and have large personal stakes to do all in their power to grapple with it vigorously till they have solved it satisfactorily.

3. The gravity of the question is only equalled, if not surpassed, by its delicacy, at least in the aspect in which Your Excellency has asked me to approach it.

4. I shall try to give my opinion frankly according to my lights and experience.

5. Whatever proportions sedition may have assumed in the country at large, including the Native States, I make no doubt that the personal loyalty of the Rulers of Native States to the British Throne remains and will always remain unshaken and above suspicion and also that they all desire peace, contentment and prosperity to reign in the land. And their loyalty is only natural, as they cannot but realise that the permanent paramountcy of the British Government is an indispensable condition of their own existence and prosperity.

6. These sentiments of Native Chiefs cannot but be reflected in their administrations and cannot fail to permeate to the humblest of their subjects by a natural process. I cannot therefore help thinking that in Native States at any rate, the number of people entertaining questionable feelings towards the British Government must be infinitesimal, and such feelings wherever they exist must be entirely the product of extraneous influences.

7. The problem, therefore, is :—

(1) How to prevent the importation into the Native States of ideas and feelings not in accord with their traditions, *and*

(2) The eradication of those ideas and the punishment of persons guilty of holding them, if they have found their way in, unnoticed.

8. A suitable amendment or extension of the Criminal Law bearing on seditious movements should be introduced wherever necessary.

9. Even more effective than the above, would be the formation of "Vigilance Committees" composed of leaders of different communities who are also men of staunch convictions and are earnest supporters of law and order. These I now propose forming in my own State and ranging them on the side of the Durbar for the purpose of inculcating in all, by precept and example, a sense of the futility and wickedness of brewing disorder and anarchy and the wisdom of pursuing healthy avocations and profitable callings. These committees might also usefully serve as mediums for bringing to the notice of the Durbar, cases which may baffle their own private efforts.

10. Along with this, special care should be taken to see that the best possible influences are brought to bear upon the students of schools and colleges, and that all engaged in the profession of teaching take every possible opportunity of instilling correct notions into the minds of their pupils.

11. These steps supplemented by a public avowal of the convictions and policy of the Rulers on the subject of sedition, whether in the form of messages to their subjects or any other form, couched in unmistakable terms should go a long way towards keeping the people aloof from any proceeding designed to embarrass or weaken the authority of the British Government.

As an instance of the salutary effect of such an appeal or proclamation, I may cite the action taken by me at the last Singhastha Fair in Ujjain which had brought together some 6 lakhs of people of all grades and shades of opinion from all parts of the country.

12. The last point I would touch upon is the importation of seditious literature into the Native States. In regard to that, the Native States are practically helpless as the evil has to be checked at its source, and this can only be done by the Government.

13. To show what measures I have adopted and how the foregoing suggestions could be given effect to, I beg to forward, for Your Excellency's perusal, copies of certain papers one of which has, I believe, been already brought to Your Excellency's notice.

(20)

Dated Bikaner, the 29th December 1909.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I beg to gratefully acknowledge receipt of Your Excellency's kind Kharita of the 6th August 1909, and to tender my sincere apologies for the great delay in replying to the same, which I greatly regret and which has been due to a combination of circumstances and chiefly to domestic anxieties and trouble, which, as Your Excellency is aware, culminated in the lamentable death of my mother, and for the same reasons I beg that Your Excellency will be kind enough to forgive me.

Your Excellency's consulting the Ruling Princes and Chiefs of India on such a subject has, I feel sure, not only honoured and gratified them, but has also, I would venture to add, given another proof—not that one was wanted—of the sincere friendship which Your Excellency evinces for, and the genuine interest Your Excellency takes in, the Protected States of India and their Rulers, and of Your Excellency's solicitude that as "Pillars of the Empire" they should take their proper place and share the responsibilities and anxieties of the Supreme Government; and it is my humble belief that such steps are bound to result in good both to the Imperial Government and to the States themselves.

I am sure that no one can but realise that the movement of the party of sedition is, as Your Excellency remarks, directed not only against the British Government but against all constituted forms of government and the established order of society and that the matter is one in which the interests of the Paramount Power and the Ruling Princes of India are identical, and I think it can confidently be expected that Your Excellency will find—and no doubt has already found—that the Ruling Chiefs of India will, as in the past, vigorously rank themselves on the side of the Government which is also that of law and order. Already several instances are forthcoming of the staunch loyalty of the Chiefs and of their stepping forth in no hesitating manner and doing their utmost to co-operate with the Government, where seditionists have been tried and brought to book or substantial measures and precautions have been taken to prevent their States and subjects from getting infected by this most objectionable movement.

And there is every reason why this should be so—from whichever point of view the matter may be looked at. I would beg Your Excellency to believe that apart from interests being identical, there is a marked degree of true loyalty and genuine devotion towards their Sovereign on the part of the Chiefs, and that that is very real in spite of the scepticism of certain ill-informed and ignorant persons who affirm it to be based on mere selfish motives and worldly considerations. Our Hindu religion—and no doubt the Muhammadan religion as well—teaches us this; indeed it is one of its first principles, and history bears testimony to my assertion even as regards the past and under Sovereigns and Governments that contrast strangely and very differently to our present King-Emperor and His Majesty's Government out here. Motives of self-preservation also, looking at it from the worldly point of view, necessitate our energetic co-operation with the Government in this direction, and we are also bound by our Treaties to do so.

It is difficult to suggest for British India anything more than what has already been, and is being, done to stamp out or check the spread of this curse where—if I may be permitted to say so—all sensible persons and those who have a stake in the country have watched with genuine admiration and lively gratification the far-seeing and statesmanlike policy adopted by Your Excellency by which while firmly and with a strong hand suppressing anarchy and sedition—which was so necessary—Your Excellency nevertheless declined to bring in such repressive measures as might punish and bear harshly on the innocent and loyal millions of India, and I would further venture to join in voicing the expressions of the general opinion of such persons that any other method of coping with the critical situation through which we have just passed, any show of weakness on the part of the Government, any undue or harsh repressive or coercive measures—so

suicidally advocated by those who ill-judged the present times and who failed to realise the real gravity of the consequences of the policy they advocated—anything likely to have been interpreted as a breach of faith on the part of the Government of India, or any deviation from the right and honourable path of duty in satisfying the legitimate aspirations of the peoples of India—to which end the Government of India had themselves, in their self-imposed task of humanity, trained them and which end appears to have been well served by the introduction of the recent reforms—any such measures might easily have ended in the most serious results and consequences affecting not only India but the Empire as a whole—a situation, the dealing with which would not have been in the hands of the ill-advised and irresponsible persons who advocated a different policy, but which would have landed the Government of India and His Majesty's Government in England into an extremely difficult and awkward position. In short, so long as the Government of India adhere to the present policy of dealing firmly and promptly with all seditionists and seditious movements, and at the same time tempering it with kindness and parental solicitude for the loyalists and the innocent, and even magnanimously showing mercy in deserving cases, there ought to be and can be no cause for any anxiety in any way, even though as Your Excellency remarked in a recent speech there are still rocks and shoals ahead.

The only other step that seems to be called for at the present moment is some measure to put a muzzle on that portion of the venomous press in India which does so much harm and which is to a great extent responsible for all the serious unrest and violent crimes in India.

As for the Protected States, apart from what has already been done by many States and what doubtless is being, and will be, done by the remaining in the way of practical measures, a few suggestions occur to me which, with great diffidence, I beg to offer to Your Excellency for what they may be worth, and before doing so, the remark on my part seems hardly to be called for to the effect that any matters connected with the States and their Rulers must, of necessity, have a personal bearing for myself also, but I hope Your Excellency will believe that it is for no unworthy selfish motives—though self-interest naturally with all human beings must always be a consideration—that I propose bringing them forward here, but I do so because I feel that it is my duty, in accordance with one of my essential principles, of respectfully yet clearly and frankly putting forward my views and suggestions, and I honestly believe that, in the event of these proposals being seriously and, as I hope, favourably considered by Your Excellency, they cannot but result in substantial advantage to all concerned and will go a long way towards bringing about a better state of affairs.

I. It is the universal experience of every one who has had anything to do with our States that no person, whether an official, or a noble, or a private gentleman, can render any signal or really useful services to the State or its Ruler or come to wield any beneficial influence of any importance unless his prestige and position is placed on a high pedestal so to speak, and this is greatly influenced according to the consideration and support given to him by the Ruler of the State and his Durbar. I believe I am not going against the general consensus of opinion entitled to any weight when I say that as in the past as well as in recent times, so in the future also, in all times of stress and storm, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs are destined to play a prominent and honourable part in the history of the British Empire in India. It is true that loud protestations of loyalty shouted from house-tops are of no value—perhaps this has been too much overdone already by certain interested communities to permit of much reliance being placed on them—but Your Excellency will be the first to realize that the loyalty of my community—the Ruling Chiefs—which has stood the severe tests of the Mutiny and all these years is not a hollow sham but something that is genuine and real and, should the time come again, it can confidently be asserted that we can be depended upon and we shall give further proofs by deeds and not by words alone. In ordinary times or those intermediate periods like the present, we have it in our power, and we consider it a privilege, to render in our own States our dutiful help

to the Government of His Majesty the King-Emperor in India. But I have often felt that we might make ourselves further useful, did circumstances permit, or were we placed in the position, of being able to render some services in British India also. One often notices cries in the papers and elsewhere for influential and responsible people coming forward and doing something more than mere talking in support of the Government and denouncing disloyal movements and seditionists and, if my memory serves me right, some feeble attempts have, at times, been made, since the disturbing element made itself visible above the surface in India, to constitute Societies and Bodies of Ruling Chiefs and Territorial Magnates, &c., to co-operate with Government and by tours, speeches, etc., to remove the misrepresentations deliberately spread about the Government and to disillusion the people from the deception practised by, and to expose the base motives and real character of, the agitators and seditionists. But after the first announcement, one never hears anything more about such leagues and societies; and the good they could have done, or are doing, must, it is feared, be very limited indeed. Thanks to the education and training imparted to our younger generation of Chiefs we are beginning to look beyond our hitherto limited spheres and take due and real interest in the affairs of the Empire, and some of us will no doubt be found who would desire to take a more active—personal as apart from official—part in the attempt to co-operate with Government and like the big men in England who—not necessarily forming part of the Government—discharge their public duties, would also like to see whether we could not do something useful by going about British India addressing audiences, speaking to people, etc., and by all other practical means attempt to destroy the seeds of poison sown by seditionists and agitators and to counteract their baneful influence. In short, instead of our merely acting, as hitherto, on the *defensive*, we would now like to embark on an *offensive* campaign. Whether any success would attend this, no one can really say till the experiment has actually been tried.

But as in the Protected States, so in British India—and perhaps even more so in these democratic days of socialistic tendencies—no one could wield any wholesome influence unless he is looked upon as a person of importance and can command the respect due to his position and befitting his rank. Although—I believe I am right in saying—it is a fact that the majority of the people in British India are, on the whole, favourably disposed and sympathetically inclined towards us, it is perhaps only to be expected that the significant minority of the disloyalists and agitators—who do not love my community—do all in their power to belittle our worth and importance and attempt to set popular feeling against us, by hook or by crook, and to hold us up to ridicule. The correctness of this assertion would, I venture to say, be corroborated by the storm and outcry that is invariably raised and all the things that are said about, as well as the epithets that are applied to, us in certain newspapers whenever any one of my community writes or does anything in support of the Government or against the propaganda of agitation, sedition, and disloyalty.

I have no hesitation in saying that all the Chiefs gratefully realize that under the ægis of Your Excellency's rule, a very great deal has already been done to help them and their Durbars, and to smooth over difficulties and matters of a nature which caused them inconvenience and anxiety. But in spite of that perhaps my community are too sensitive and perhaps we are wrong; yet, whatever it may be, the fact remains that the feeling is that, for diverse reasons of several years' standing which it would be as unnecessary as it is out of place to touch upon here, our dignity and importance has gradually diminished to some extent and that we do not now occupy the same position as we did some 40 to 50 years ago, and we consequently feel that this fact, to a very large extent, detracts from our usefulness and lessens our influence and power of doing good and of our contributing our modest quota of help to the British Government in maintaining law and order and checking lawlessness and violence.

I firmly believe that all the Chiefs will join in the expression of the earnest hope—and doubtless the kind consideration, sympathy and regard

Your Excellency has already shown, as at the Agra Durbar in 1907, will encourage and embolden them to so hope—that, in spite of the heavy work entailed on Your Excellency consequent on the introduction of the reforms, not to speak of the very responsible duties of wielding the destinies of the Indian Empire with which you are at all times occupied, Your Excellency will be able to find time in the, alas!, very short period remaining of your term of Viceroyalty to look into the matter, and to, at least, lay the foundations in concrete of restoring the *Izzat* and position of the Chiefs to their former standard.

II. The second point which I would respectfully bring forward for Your Excellency's favourable consideration is that according to present arrangements any person taking part even in the most violent or the most seditious movements against our States or their Rulers has only to go across into British India to enjoy perfect immunity, and I am sure Your Excellency's Government would be still further putting the Chiefs and their Durbars under a debt of gratitude by the early consideration of the point as to whether or not such persons should be allowed to escape unpunished. Apart from the ordinary yet important considerations of the fact that any one hostile to any properly constituted government and one who is an enemy of all that counts for law and order should nowhere be able to find shelter, there would perhaps not be any two opinions about it that just as is the case that all such movements affecting the British Government and British India have both direct and indirect consequences for the Protected States, so exactly—though to a correspondingly smaller extent according to the lesser degree of our importance—such offences against the States and their Rulers must necessarily as a matter of course affect the British Government and British India also; and further a study of similar anarchical and nihilistic movements in other parts of the world leaves one little doubt for apprehending that the cult of the bomb at present directed mainly against officers of the Government of India in British India is bound in time to be directed against the Rulers of States as well as their own officers, and looking ahead and keeping this in view, it seems to be most important and all the more urgently necessary that all persons guilty of sedition or any violent attempts against the States and their Rulers, of writing or publishing seditious articles, pamphlets, etc., or otherwise disseminating sedition in and against Native States and their Rulers should be liable to extradition and that they should not receive shelter in British India—whether such offences were committed in British India or the territories of the Protected States—and may I be forgiven for respectfully pointing out that this would also be in conformity with the Treaties between the British Government and the majority of the States where the stipulation is put down in the very first Article that "the friends and enemies of one party shall be the friends and enemies of both parties."

At present such offences are not included in the Extradition Treaties, and even if extradition could not be arranged or sanctioned by Government it would seem to be desirable that at least the offenders should be duly dealt with in British India by the British Government. At any rate it could do nothing but good if either of these two alternatives were followed—preferably the former—and if it became widely known that no offenders and persons guilty of such serious offences would, any further, enjoy immunity either in British India or in the Native States—no matter whether such offences were committed against the Government or the States and their Rulers; and possibly some such concerted action, leaving little loophole for mischief-making against either party, might tend to the earlier stamping out of anarchism and disloyalty.

III. It is extremely advisable that there should be unity of action as regards the exchange and circulation of information concerning suspicious characters as Your Excellency has suggested. Indeed this is a point that I had already taken up on my own account in April last. What appears to me to be urgently called for is that we should be in possession, *at the earliest possible opportunity*, of the particulars of all the movements and actions of not only seditious persons but societies, and specially the dangerous ones. If possible, it would be a very great facility if some measures were taken to enable us to be put in possession of all the facts, as soon as they are

known at the Criminal Intelligence Bureau, through the Political authorities if time permits, or even direct, in cases of urgency—copies of such information being in due course sent to the local Political authorities also for their information. Besides British India, we are also ordinarily in complete ignorance of what is going on in our sister or even neighbouring States until we hear some time later from friends or see the announcement in the papers of discoveries or arrests or trials.

Although a somewhat different subject, yet another matter has a close resemblance with the above. Owing to there being, so far as I am aware, no Press Cuttings Agency in India, it is difficult for us to come to know what is being said or written about us in different parts of India in the various English and Vernacular newspapers, and in many cases, and for obvious reasons, it is often very desirable that Chiefs and their Durbars should be fully posted about such comments, criticisms or attacks. Owing also to the diversity of languages and other difficulties it is practically impossible for them to collect or get hold of all such articles, etc., or their translations. The knowledge of the criticisms and comments directed against the Government of India—many of which we know to be vilely unfair—would also be of advantage to us and possibly of some use to Government also, when, as in some cases, we might be able to refute the same should it be within our power to do so, and at the same time it would keep us acquainted with the state of the political atmosphere in British India.

As for what we have done in our State, Your Excellency is aware that we were the first State to pass an Explosive Substances Act in July 1908, and many months ago we issued confidential instructions to all local and district authorities. An Act forbidding the importation into, or the possession in, the State, of dangerous, seditious or disloyal papers including all such pamphlets, etc., is also about to be taken up, and I have further under my consideration the question of stopping some of the really notorious and dangerous seditious and disloyal newspapers published in India from being brought or sent into my State. I am inclined to the view, in regard to the latter, that it is prudent to move cautiously in this matter and to exercise due discrimination between such papers and those which, though not of an altogether desirable tone, are not the active organs of sedition and the prohibition of which might do more harm than good by magnifying their importance and creating suspicion where none may exist or otherwise producing prejudicial effects, and I have already taken steps in this direction and obtained particulars of such papers through the Political Agent, Bikaner.

I am happy to add for Your Excellency's information that, so far at any rate, my State and people are free from all infection of a seditious or disloyal nature against the British Government and, although prophecies are dangerous, I have every hope that they will remain strictly loyal to the end. For the future, I hope no assurances are necessary from me to the effect that I and my Durbar will ever do all in our power to co-operate with the Government, and that, as in the past, we shall, as occasion demands, ceaselessly and vigilantly continue to take all such measures and precautions as may appear best suited to cope with the situation with due regard to local conditions.

Of the staunch loyalty of my House and our unstinted devotion to the person of His Majesty the King-Emperor, I need say nothing. It is proved by actual deeds in past history; it is a matter of great pride and pleasure to us that my ancestor Maharaja Sirdar Singhji was the only Chief in Rajputana to personally march from Bikaner at the head of his troops to render assistance to the British Government in the dark days of the Mutiny, and I consider it a privilege and my great good fortune to have personally rendered services to my Sovereign on active service, and I would beg Your Excellency to always rely on and count upon us in all future emergencies.

In conclusion, I would again express the hope that Your Excellency will forgive my having taken up so much of your time, and with all good wishes, etc.

(21)

Dated the 15th January, 1910.

From—His Highness the Raja of Dhar,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I am very much honoured by Your Excellency's Kharita, dated the 6th August, 1909, in respect to the concerting of measures against our common enemy the seditious party, who under various garbs have been disseminating seditious ideas in the minds of the people not only against the British Administration but all constituted authority and order of society in British India, and who are even trying to get a footing in some of the Native States in India as well. It is a matter of deep regret to me that a Kharita containing a subject of such vital moment involving the common interest of us all should have been delayed so long owing to various unavoidable circumstances, and now with Your Excellency's permission I may be allowed to send the following reply:—

I fully agree with Your Excellency in thinking that the time has come when the Native Princes of India should no longer remain satisfied in attempting to eradicate this dire disease from their own territories, but should also co-operate with the Paramount Power in concerting measures for the eradication of the disease altogether wherever it is found in India, so that the territories they rule over should also be free from import of germs of the same from outside.

In this connection the Native Chiefs in India have a two-fold task before them—

(*i*) The prevention of any probable growth of such disease within their States, and to keep them free from it, without unnecessarily altering the internal arrangements.

(*ii*) The combating against the import of sedition from outside, and thus prevent the propagation of the same amongst their own subjects.

To achieve the first end in a generally law-abiding people, who have every reverence for their Ruler, is easier than the second, which, with the spread of civilisation and easy means of communication of ideas to others, is much more difficult.

Although a few years ago some signs of sedition were visible in Dhar generally amongst students, yet prompt and severe steps taken by the Darbar not only enabled me to put down the same in its very beginning, but made the condition such that any growth of the same would not be congenial for the future.

In spite of the numerous difficulties that beset our path in the performance of the task before us, I am glad to inform Your Excellency that since then I have been able to keep my State free from the pest, by adoption of the following measures:—

(1) I have arranged to keep very strict and secret watch over my people that they may not indulge in any seditious topics and thus prepare a soil for the growth of the evil in future.

(2) No public meeting to discuss political subjects is permitted to be held within my territories; and no public meeting of any kind can be held without the permission of the Darbar, such permission being but rarely given and then only for deserving objects. When such meetings are held the proceedings are always watched by the State Police.

(3) There are only two printing presses in Dhar; one of them belongs to the State. Both of them usually print forms and circulars, etc., used in the various States. Every precaution is taken by the Police that no objectionable publication may emanate from them.

(4) As the seeds of sedition are generally and easily sown in the young and unformed minds, my Darbar have taken especial care in their education.

Not only are objectionable teachings of every kind strictly prohibited but as a further safeguard the Darbar, before the appointment of teachers, causes careful enquiry into the antecedents of applicants, so that no teacher with seditious or morbid ideas can be employed.

(5) All public institutions are prohibited from subscribing to objectionable newspapers.

(6) A diary of every foreigner coming into the towns is kept by the State Police, and information of all suspected characters is given to the proper authorities.

(7) Even Sadhus and Fakirs are not allowed to stop more than three days in any particular town within the State. By making this a general rule and by watching the movements of the new comers much mischief is avoided without unnecessarily exciting the indignation of or wounding the religious feelings of people which are generally respected.

(8) Moreover information of all suspicious characters coming into the State is beforehand given to us by the British Police through the Thagi and Dakaiti Department for which my thanks are due, as by obtaining such information in time my Darbar become forewarned and forearmed.

(9) Above all, to avoid the dangers which may likely arise in spite of our care and vigilance from the hands of cowardly and unscrupulous wretches, the Explosive Act has been passed.

Measures such as these for the prevention of any probable growth of the evil in my State or import of the same from outside could only be effected by the loyal co-operation of my people with my Darbar and the confidence of the political authorities in the action taken by us and timely advice and help given by them, for which my especial thanks are due, that I have been able to combat against this evil, and my complete success will rest on the detail and effective operation of these measures.

I am sure all my brother Chiefs have adopted similar measures, suited to their own local conditions and people, yet to facilitate matters more and for the quick adaptation of means to gain our common end I may be allowed by Your Excellency to mention the following proposals :—

(*i*) That communication between the State Police of different Native States may be made more frequent and free than it is at present.

(*ii*) That as this is a cause in which all of us are equally concerned, mutual discussions might be allowed to be held amongst the brother Chiefs and the Political Officials at the seat of the Local Government when they meet there to discuss other important questions concerning their welfare.

(*iii*) As civilisation is spreading under the ægis of the British Raj, we in the Native States are trying to keep pace with the times and our attention turned more towards the education of the masses, thus making our people to face a new danger—the danger of imbibing unhealthy ideas through objectionable newspapers, whose unhealthy tone unless very much improved will frustrate our efforts.

(*iv*) That the training to be given to the masses may be based on religious principles and ideals and inculcation of good morals in the minds of the younger generation should be insisted upon for the foundation of their character, in order to make them loyal subjects and responsible citizens. All public schools should be graded according to the number of such men turned out rather than the high percentage of passed out bread-winners.

(*v*) Lastly as the success of our undertaking depends on the co-operation of the people, they must be impressed with the good intention of any step we take in the matter and of our unalloyed sympathy towards them ; and the persons entrusted to carry out these measures should not only do their duty faithfully and loyally, but without unnecessarily creating that alarm in their minds which is a great obstacle in the path of success.

In conclusion, my Lord, it will not be out of place to assure Your Excellency that I with all the resources of my State and people will ever be ready for any service that may be required of me by the Paramount Power, and I am ever ready to render any assistance to achieve that end which is necessary for safeguarding our common interest.

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(22)

Dated the 6th February, 1910.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita, dated the 6th August, 1909, on the subject of concerted action to check the dissemination of seditious propaganda in different parts of India. Owing to circumstances over which I had no control I was unable at once to reply to Your Excellency's Kharita. But of this I may be permitted to assure Your Excellency that the delay was not due to any lack of interest in the subject or of readiness to offer my co-operation. Far from it, the matter has all along been prominently before me.

2. I have viewed with great anxiety the endeavours that have been made to spread sedition in certain Native States, and it will, I think, be a matter of the greatest regret if these mischievous and pernicious efforts are allowed to go any further and if States hitherto unpolluted by the foul poison should come to be affected by it.

3. Therefore, I welcome most heartily Your Excellency's gracious invitation to co-operate with the Government of India; I realise that the interests of the Government and of the Rulers of Native States are identical in this matter; I cannot doubt that the spread of this agitation must strike at the very foundations of the priceless boon of peace and good and settled Government that India has so long enjoyed under the wise and just rule of the British Raj; and I assure Your Excellency in the strongest terms I can command, that I am at all times unreservedly willing to associate myself with, and assist in, the carrying out of whatever line of policy Your Excellency may think it best to adopt in meeting the situation.

4. I have indeed both in my public speeches and in the manifestos I have issued to my people, already declared myself to this effect in the plainest possible language.

5. But though I have done this in view of the general situation and for the purposes of protecting my people from what I feel is a danger to which they are like others constantly exposed, yet it is a matter of no little satisfaction to me to know that my State is so far free from sedition and its mischievous influence. And I am confident that by the deterrent measures adopted by my Darbar, as published in the above-mentioned manifestos, we shall be able, if not to exclude entirely the seditious agitator from my territories, at all events, to render his preachings and machinations comparatively innocuous and to make his position an eminently precarious one for himself.

6. I note with much satisfaction that Your Excellency's views with regard to concerted measures to meet the situation will not involve interference with the internal administration of the Native States. The Jaipur Darbar, as I have said above, have already taken a good many precautions. They have also, whenever necessary, been co-operating with the Government of India, with regard to giving information about such suspicious characters as have visited Jaipur. The Darbar are also prepared loyally to render any further assistance that may be required in this direction. But at the same time, I deem it advisable so far as local conditions are concerned not to bring sedition too prominently to the notice of my people, to whom it is fortunately wholly unknown as yet. Nevertheless, I greatly appreciate Your Excellency's kindness in consulting me on this important subject, and I desire to thank Your Excellency cordially for the wise and liberal policy pursued by Your Excellency's Government, which has resulted in the appointment of Indian gentlemen as members of the Council of the Secretary of State and of the

Executive Council of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India. In fact, the Reform Scheme, which places the people of India under a deep and ever-lasting debt of gratitude to Your Excellency is a sure sign of Your Excellency's kind and sympathetic feelings towards them. Indeed after all that has been done, I find it difficult to suggest for British India anything else that could help to eradicate the serious evils of sedition and anarchy that prevail, but in deference to Your Excellency's wishes I will offer such further suggestions as occur to me.

(*a*) No doubt the measures already taken to suppress the publication of seditious matter in newspapers have done much to lessen the present evil, but I am constrained to say that much still remains to be done. The persistent murderous acts perpetrated in various parts of the country, indicate that a spirit of lawlessness is still abroad and the question is what steps should be taken to stamp it out. The seed, no doubt, was sown by seditious newspapers, but the remedy lies not in the total suppression of newspapers, but in guiding them along right channels. The Anglo-Indian papers have but a small circulation, and they do not reach the entire mass of literate people. I, therefore, ask cannot a select few of the existing Vernacular papers be encouraged to point out the evils of sedition and the disasters it has brought in its train? I believe, if Vernacular papers are rightly conducted they have the power to do good and not harm. Can the influential moneyed and right-thinking portion of the people not be induced to support papers and periodicals of their own, whose main object will be to expose the pernicious teaching and perverted information contained in the Gutter Press, to discuss Government measures in a loyal spirit and to circulate the correct view of the measures and actions of Government. If informal meetings between editors and high-placed Government officials could be arranged, it would give excellent opportunities for the exchange of ideas on important public questions. The editors who discharge their responsible duties conscientiously should be encouraged in every way, while those that are indiscreet should be promptly sent for and their mistakes pointed out to them. Should this not have the desired effect, stronger measures must of course be resorted to, and the Government will be well-advised to arm themselves with the power to take such measures. I have sanguine hopes that this policy will provide an efficacious check on the printing of seditious articles and that the tone of the Vernacular Press will soon improve. The seditious movement has so far been able to influence only a small percentage of the population, and I earnestly hope that with the advent and wide circulation of rightly conducted papers the great mass of the people will always remain staunchly loyal to the Suzerain power in India.

(*b*) When a new daily paper or periodical is started in British India the management of the paper should be made to deposit a certain sum of money as a guarantee for the paper being conducted on right lines, and this deposit would be forfeited should the paper begin preaching seditious doctrines. I am sure the fear of losing their money would act as an effective check upon the tone the editors adopt.

(*c*) It should be impressed upon the leaders of the different communities that it is their bounden duty to bestir themselves to help and deliver their deluded young men if the country is not to go to wreck and ruin. If organisations were formed in every important town all over the country of the best men, the lovers of order and good Government, and if they be induced to expose the hidden machinations of sedition-mongers, their baneful influence will be successfully counteracted. Being composed of the members of the same community such organisations by virtue of the inherent

knowledge they possess of the special conditions, habits and customs of the people, will be better able to cope with the situation than would the most capable detective agency. Perhaps these organisations may on occassion be able to bring to the timely notice of the authorities the intention to disturb the peace or commit acts of violence.

(*d*) My next point has reference to the neglect there seems to be of religious education, a point to which I drew Your Excellency's attention at the State Banquet at Jaipur on the 29th October 1909. I must say I have great faith in a system of education in which secular and religious instruction is harmoniously combined, as the formation of character entirely depends upon a base-work of religion, the noble ideals which our sacred books will put before the younger generation will, I fervently hope, make them loyal and dutiful citizens of the Empire. In the Shastras the monarch is the embodiment of all that is Great and Good, and he is considered a Divine leader of men. Such teachings must inevitably have their effect on impressionable young men, and it is perhaps due to such ideals that sedition and anarchy have so small a footing in the Native States as a whole. In the Chiefs College Conference held at the Mayo College in 1904, I impressed upon my colleagues the necessity of religious education for the sons of the Chiefs and Nobles of Rajputana. It should be one of the principal objects in all schools for the teachers, the Pandits and the Moulvies to instil in the minds of their pupils correct notions as to the duty they owe to the community they belong to and to their Sovereign.

7. In conclusion, I would again wish to thank Your Excellency for taking up this important subject and for so kindly consulting me about it. As I have said before, I believe that only a small fraction of the population of India has been contaminated by the seditious germ. But that fraction has, it seems, been carefully organised by able, rich, and unscrupulous men. The vast majority of Indians are loyal, and in their quiet undemonstrative way warmly appreciate the blessings of peace, personal and religious liberty and security. It is the bounden duty, therefore, of all responsible for the well-being of these law-abiding millions to see that the poison of sedition does not reach them. This Your Excellency means to do, and such assistance, as it lies in my power to give, I offer most cordially. An organised and concerted campaign, offensive and defensive, against the common enemy is what is wanted. At the head of this combination, stands the Government of India and with it the Ruling Chiefs of Native States, whose interests are identical with those of the Government, and who, if I may venture to say so, are looked up to as the natural leaders of Indian society. There are also the leaders of the different communities referred to in paragraph 6 (*c*) above; all these forces standing and working together will be able to show so strong a front that this wretched spectre of sedition that has come among us will soon be crushed and banished from the land, and we shall return once more to the unclouded happiness and prosperity we have always enjoyed under the great, wise and beneficent rule of His Majesty the King, Emperor of Great Britain and India.

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(23)

Dated the ——February 1910.

From—His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar,

To—His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India.

After compliments.—I have much pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of Your Excellency's Kharita of 6th August, 1909, regarding sedition and would ask you to accept my grateful thanks for the kind assurances given therein as well as for the desire Your Excellency has expressed to consult me n this important subject.

This new and most objectionable movement of sedition has come into evidence more or less of recent years, and Your Excellency is well aware with what feelings of disgust and disapproval it has all along been viewed by the well-wishers of India and specially by the Indian Chiefs.

Your Excellency's remark is very true that the time has come when common and concerted action is necessary in order to suppress this movement.

The pernicious effects of this movement and the means that have been utilized for spreading it abroad have already engaged Your Excellency's attention, and the Acts that have been passed and other political measures that have been adopted by Your Excellency's Government have no doubt been responsible for suppressing sedition a good deal. With the due exercise of legitimate force, judicious treatment and prompt justice, the last of which is most necessary in order to have the desired effect it should not be difficult to control this movement in the future.

In order, however, to deal with the subject thoroughly it is equally necessary in my mind to keep in view the causes from which this movement has originated and to devise means to remove them where it should be advisable, practicable and possible.

With the light of modern education and travel shining ahead the people of this country no doubt are awakening to wider aspirations. And with the enjoyment of absolute peace and the spread of communications their thoughts seem to be rising towards greater political ambitions, while the struggle of competition is drawing to their minds the ideas of mutual comparison, liberty and prosperity.

All these forces of nature are steadily gaining ground in the minds of a rapidly growing majority of people, though in however small a minority these may be considered to be at present.

The spread of these new ideas in a country like India where until some time back they have been so foreign or at any rate so scarce cannot in every case at least for some time be expected to find favourable soil.

In order, therefore, that they may be properly assimilated so as to bear good fruit, it seems to me that the ground on which they are to be cast must be simultaneously prepared with sound education based on teaching religion and building character.

I had the pleasure of referring this subject to Your Excellency's kind notice when I had the good fortune of entertaining you recently in Alwar, and I was much encouraged with Your Excellency's remarks in reply.

I have no doubt that the Indian States should be and will be the first to take the initiative in this matter, but my idea is that it is not the Indian States where these new ideas are capable of such rapid development.

Though the Government of India have all along very wisely refrained from interference in religious ideas, I still believe that they can do a great deal directly and indirectly to help in the encouragement of greater moral teachings in schools, etc.

There are not wanting loyal bodies in British India, I believe, who would not welcome such encouragement, and even if the Government abstained from taking any direct steps, I have no doubt a great deal could be done by indirect means.

This question, however, has by no means escaped Your Excellency's attention as can be judged from so many public utterances you have made on the subject when you have expressed your intimate knowledge of the mischief that is already caused in the absence of such education.

These new aspirations and ambitions will require sympathetic guidance and firm control in the future, and where such ambition will be incapable of fulfilment they are likely—as they have already done in the past—to lead to discontent.

In order to keep pace with the times the Government of India has already taken the initial step by introducing reforms in the political machinery of the Government which has helped in no small a degree in allaying discontent.

In cases of some more ambitious minds it may not be possible to satisfy their aspirations, but in no case must such discontent be allowed to lead to sedition or to take the form of violence. On the least sign of any such movement prompt justice and vigorous action will be necessary in order to bear the desired results.

While Your Excellency has already been doing so much for British India a great deal has already been done in the Indian States, and where anarchy or sedition has shown any tendency of infection it has met as you are aware with exemplary treatment.

My opinion is that in future too such cases will receive the same kind of treatment. So long as the movement of outsiders entering the States with doubtful motives is carefully watched and prompt measures are taken when it becomes necessary, I venture to hope that there will not be much danger to fear from this movement gaining ground in our States.

I feel grateful to Providence that Rajputana has so far proved the strongest barrier against this movement, and in my own State, I am happy to say my people seem well contented and free from any such infection. I have every trust in their loyalty and allegiance and feel certain they will not abuse my confidence.

Regarding Your Excellency's allusion to common action being taken on the part of the British Government and the Indian States, I can assure Your Excellency on my behalf that I shall be willingly prepared to co-operate in any such action as you suggest of circulating information and watching and communicating about suspicious characters whenever it may be necessary.

In conclusion I would ask you to accept my cordial thanks for your kind assurances of your policy of non-interference in the internal administration of our States and for your very kind offer of assistance should such be desired. These sentiments we not only very warmly appreciate, but they make us all the more prepared to do what lies in our power to help in the cause of the Empire.

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(24)

Dated the 12th September 1909.

From—His Highness the Nawab of Rampur,

To—His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

After compliments.—I write to thank Your Honour for your kind letter of the 7th September, from which I am very sorry to learn that the party of sedition and violence, so far from abandoning their seditious propaganda in British India, are trying to extend their baneful activities to Native States. Your Honour may rest assured that any assistance that I can give either in person or in any other way, will be freely and ungrudgingly given, because the traditional relations of this State with the British Government are those of the closest friendship and strictest loyalty, and the Treaties which have existed between the Government of His Most Gracious Majesty the King-Emperor and my House for so long bind me to that Government by ties of the deepest obligation and sincerest devotion. In this connection I may perhaps be permitted to recall the part my great-grandfather played in the troublous days of 1857 when he spared neither himself nor his subjects nor money in the cause of the British Government and in protecting Europeans.

While entirely agreeing with Your Honour that anarchism is a common enemy of the Paramount Power and the Indian Princes and also a menace to the established order of society I feel bound to say that apart from the fact that the danger is a common one I should ever deem it a privilege to place myself with all my resources at the disposal of the British Government.

I am happy to say that this State has so far been free from the influence of seditionists, who would find it most difficult to get a foothold in Rampur, but if any attempt is made to seduce my subjects from their loyalty we shall be prepared to deal with the evil promptly.

I have carefully considered the subject matter of Your Honour's letter and have embodied my ideas with regard to it, in rough outline, in a memorandum enclosed herein. I should be glad to obtain the benefit of Your Honour's views on the points raised in the memorandum and to modify or add to them in a way agreeable to your wishes so as to give complete effect to the policy of co-operation in stamping out anarchy and sedition to which Your Honour has referred in the letter under reply.

In conclusion, I am very glad to find that my letter of July 1908 has not been forgotten and that Your Honour has taken the earliest opportunity to give effect to the request contained in it. This I regard as a token of confidence on the part of the British Government of which I am justly proud and for which pray accept my sincerest thanks.

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(25)

Dated Tehri, Garhwal, the 20th September 1909.

From—His Highness the Raja of Tehri,

To—His Honour the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh.

After compliments.—Your Honour's note was delivered to me in due course. No doubt the subject upon which Your Honour has been pleased to address me is a very important one, and I have given it due consideration. Fortunately in my State the propaganda of the anarchists may be said to be a thing unknown, nor is there any possibility of its ever taking roots in a soil so uncongenial to it as that of Tehri where loyalty to the throne has always been regarded as a part of religion. The proverb says "Qui se resemble s'assemble." My people differ from the seditionists in their ideals, education, customs and manners that it becomes practically an impossibility for them to coalesce with each other. Nevertheless I quite agree that the time has come when some sort of measures should be taken, by the way of precaution, to remove any possibility of temptation being offered to the younger generation.

For the present I believe steps be taken first to prevent the circulation of seditious literature: secondly, to keep the State free from the seditionists.

Should Your Honour be pleased to approve of the proposals I would suggest that the Post Office be required to keep the civil authorities informed of all the newspapers that come for circulation, and to withhold the delivery of those that may savour of sedition. I am of opinion that no discrimination ought to be made between sedition under veil preached by indirect insinuations and sedition openly asserted, as sedition in any garb will always do the same mischief. Probably it may never become necessary to put in force the latter measure, as the majority of the educated people here are in the State service and we can use our influence to discourage seditious literature being read by them, without resorting to the other means, but I should like the Post Office to have such powers to deal (with) exceptional cases. I would require the police in British territory to keep us confidentially informed of the movements of any seditionist who may enter or wish to enter our territory. Directions will be issued to our police to remain alert, but the information that may be received from outside will always be valuable. If a suspected seditionist enters our territory I would have him kept under surveillance, and if the suspicion against him be justified, I would have him turned out of the State. If however during his stay in our territory he committed anything which, if committed in British territory, would be regarded as an offence under the laws in force, I would have him tried and punished in the same way as if he were in British territory. A close watch would also be kept on persons with tendencies towards anarchism, no matter whether they be outsiders or the residents of the State. With such measures which I have briefly described above, I think, we can keep sedition out of my territory. If, however, Your Honour may consider it necessary to frame severer measures, I shall indeed be glad to carry them out.

With kindest regards, etc.

Extracts from speeches of Ruling Chiefs during the recent tour of His Excellency Lord Minto in Native States.*

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1. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar at the State banquet on the 26th October 1909.

2. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur at the State banquet on the 29th October 1909.

3. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar) at the State banquet on the 3rd November 1909.

4. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior at the State banquet on the 6th November 1909.

5. Extract from the speech of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal at the State banquet on the 11th November 1909.

6. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda at the State banquet on the 15th November 1909.

7. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore at the State banquet on the 25th November 1909.

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* Published in a Gazette of India, Extraordinary, dated the 22nd January, 1910.

V. *Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar at the State banquet on the 26th October 1909.*

Your Excellencies,—Allow me to greet you with a cordial welcome to the capital of my State on your first entrance into Rajputana during your official tour in our province; and we take delight in welcoming Your Excellency not only as the representative of His Most August Majesty the Emperor of India, whom we have been accustomed to regard with feelings of loyalty and esteem, but we welcome you also personally as the champion of the cause of India of the future.

We greet you as one whose sympathy and devotion for India's interests have, I think, been demonstrated in practical form, and whose respect and regard for the privileges and enhancement of the prosperity of the Indian States has, I am certain, been silently but surely valued and much appreciated by those concerned.

We were hoping Your Excellency would have been able to pay us a longer visit last March, but the Indian reforms which were then under the consideration of Government presumably necessitated the cancelling of your proposed visit, which was a source of much disappointment to us all.

However, we are entertaining you now with no less assurances of sincere pleasure, and during this interval the reforms also have taken a more practical shape, thus enabling those who are interested in them to study the situation which is calculated to further the progress and prosperity of this country.

India is now going through a state of transformation, and its deep slumber has been awakened by the light of education and travel, and partly by the radical march of events in the East.

Now has come the time when India, once the greatest of civilised nations, is going to attempt to rebuild some of its portions that have tumbled into decay, and when, if it is to eventually claim its position once more alongside those nations who are now on their heights, it must need help and guidance in order to ensure its steady and certain progress.

This task of guidance has been ordained by Providence to be placed in the hands of the British nation, whose King to-day rules the mighty dominions over which the sun never sets.

Surely no task has ever fallen upon a nation or a king in history which is greater or grander in its aspect—no task of which a nation could be more rightly proud.

All this experience of many centuries which has taken so long to weld together this great Empire is now being utilised for the benefit of this great continent of India, and it is left to the civilisation of this country to take advantage of this opportunity or to lose it, for the purposes of rebuilding itself under such just and sympathetic rule.

Since the time of the great wars of the Mahabharat the old and refined civilisation of poor India had been losing its foothold which was so strongly based on its religion of elevating and life-giving principles and the internal disorders and foreign invasions since had scattered its unity until it was on the verge of degradation and decay.

I was at such a time when the destinies of the country were at their lowest ebb that its future fate was placed in the hands of the British people.

What India would have otherwise been to-day seems almost difficult to even imagine, but it is no flattery to state that what we see of India to-day is the result of the tutorship of its new and welcome guardian.

I think right-minded and self-respecting Indians need not be ashamed of such a record of guardianship—indeed they can take this opportunity of helping and not hindering the cause of the rulers of this country; helping the rules to raise India to the level of the other great nations of the world in points of civilisation and otherwise.

Your Excellency has now been at the helm controlling the affairs of this vast Empire for four years, and during this time we have been much interested in studying the various reforms which you have initiated with the intention of accelerating the progress of this country.

We have admired the sympathy and courage with which you had persisted in the face of storms and obstacles to embark on schemes intended to help the people of India, and our hearts have gone out to our great and popular statesman, the present Secretary of State for India, in his resolute determination to introduce schemes for the benefit of India in the face of dark clouds appearing on its horizon.

But while we thus appreciate your kindness and firmness in extending your helping hand to those who are in need, we are also in complete accord with you in your courage and firmness to suppress with your other hand the recent crimes against the law and the acts of miscreants calculated to retard the harmonious and peaceful progress of the country.

We feel glad, however, to think that in most cases they have only been the acts of a few fanatics who have not only deservedly received their due punishment, but have also aroused expressions of strong disapproval from their own countrymen.

The future of India must depend a great deal on the hands that are shaping its destiny, but it must also depend in no small degree on the people themselves.

Education will, I think, play a large part in its future progress, and it is on how the people digest it and apply it to the problems of life that it will depend how rapid that progress will be.

The problem of the future of India is one which I am sure haunts the minds of many people, and I cannot claim myself to be an exception to the rule, for I think with the question of the future of India also depends the question of the future of the Native States with which I am more directly concerned.

The two are so closely connected to each other, and the one question is so dependent on the other that I think they are inseparable.

But so long as the education that is given to the children of this country is based on life-giving and man-making principles and the hands that are shaping its destiny are as just, gentle and sympathetic as they have been, specially so during Your Excellency's term of office, I don't think the well-wishers of this great Indian Empire need be over-anxious about its peaceful and brilliant future.

I always take delight in ascribing the notions of loyal attachment to the throne and the love of peace and subordination to law among the great masses of the Hindus to the teachings they have received through the old schools or through their own societies regarding those noble principles of our religion.

I am personally of doubt, though I am open to correction, if the purely technical or literary or even degree-taking education can raise that firm foundation of character so essential for the well-being of a race.

I have no doubt that this important subject has already engaged Your Excellency's kind attention, and I would dearly like to see the day when a greater share of moral and religious education was introduced into at least our lower standard schools.

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2. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur at the State banquet on the 29th October 1909.

"When Your Excellency came to India the political atmosphere was surcharged with elements of discontent and unrest, feelings new and alien to the country. In some parts there was a sense of dissatisfaction on account of the supposed flouting of aspiration on the part of Government. This created in inexperienced minds, overwrought by seditious teachings, violent

feeling, which found expression in crimes and outrages hitherto unknown in the land. The misdeeds of these perverted youths startled all right-thinking men and produced a feeling of abhorrence and righteous indignation all over the country, showing thereby in an unmistakable manner how deep-seated was the faith of the people at large in the moderation, justice and impartiality of the British Government. Your Excellency at this juncture, undeterred by adverse criticism, adopted a line of action which has, I think, given general satisfaction, and I trust I may be allowed to express my warmest admiration of Your Excellency's attitude throughout, of your firm determination to suppress sedition combined with a kindly sympathy for the just and legitimate aspirations of all true and loyal subjects."

His Highness dwelt on the unfortunate neglect of religious instruction in the educational system of the country, but felt confident that His Excellency's wise policy would steer the vessel of State safely across the shoals, and bring all back once more to the safe anchorage that they had enjoyed under British rule. The Maharaja touched lightly on his own public acts in regard to sedition and assured the Viceroy that the British Government would always have the most loyal and unhesitating co-operation from the Jaipur State, and also, he had not the least doubt, from his brother Chiefs in India.

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3. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharana of Udaipur (Mewar) at the State banquet on the 3rd November 1909.

Your Excellency has been confronted in India with many troubles and anxieties. Certain evil-disposed persons, using as their weapons the ignorant among the people, have endeavoured to ferment sedition against the British Government, and they have committed some dastardly acts which have recoiled to their own detriment upon the heads of the very persons who committed them.

The policy and measures adopted by Your Excellency for stopping those crimes are sweeping away from the skies of India the black clouds which have obscured them. I am confident that these evil deeds and intentions which are not very widespread will not be able to bear fruit over the whole of India, and that they will never be able to spread in the Indian States. It gives me pleasure to be able to assure Your Excellency that in my State, at all events, such things will never be permitted to exist.

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4. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior at the State banquet on the 6th November 1909.

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There is, however, one matter to which I must allude. I have watched with respectful admiration, the firm and enlightened views by which Your Excellency and Lord Morley have been guided in dealing with the great question of how to meet the legitimate aspirations of His Majesty's Indian subjects. I rejoice that the folly of an insignificant minority has not for a moment deterred Your Excellency from advancing boldly but cautiously on the path of reform. This is worthy of a nation that has ever displayed an unselfish resolve to do justice throughout the vast dominions which the wisdom of God has placed under the care of the British Empire.

I believe that an overwhelming majority of those who are entitled to some voice in Imperial concerns—including the great body of the Native Chiefs and those who have a real stake in the country—are perfectly content to await with confidence the measures which a benign Government may from time to time see fit to introduce.

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5. Extract from the speech of Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal at the State banquet on the 11th November 1909.

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3. Your Excellency, I thank God that the loyalty of my family is fully reflected in the hearts of my subjects; indeed it is difficult for us, who live in Bhopal, to realise that such a thing as disloyalty exists. England has won her way to greatness, not by the force of arms, but by her moral strength, and it is this moral strength which compels the admiration and fealty of every right-minded person. It was, indeed, well for India that she came under control of such a Power: a control which has given to her people the inestimable gifts of peace, justice, and liberty, and which has led to a period of prosperity and progress the like of which has never before been dreamt of. It is beyond dispute that the vast majority of His Majesty's Indian subjects, and especially the Muhammadan section of them, gratefully acknowledge the manifold blessings that have accrued to them under British rule, the permanency of which they regard as the only guarantee of their welfare. The disloyalty of the few only serves to emphasize the loyalty of the many. As I have already said, we in Bhopal have little acquaintance with this minority; for my own part, those who compose it remind me of nothing so much as of Sadi's *bat* who, happening to open his eyes in the daylight, and finding he could not see, straightway fell to abusing the sun.

4. Your Excellency, I as a Muhammadan can say without any fear of contradiction that the love, loyalty, and faithfulness which the Muhammadans bear to the British Government, is not due to any transitory and world policy, but it is based upon the teaching of their sacred book, which says—"Indeed thou wil'st find the nearest friends of the believers among those who call themselves Christians, because they have priests and monks and they are not proud."

5. It is not I alone, but all the Indian Chiefs that unanimously agree that Your Excellency's wise and broad policy has removed the darkness like the Sun that illumines the World. Your Excellency has in fact saved India from a great calamity like an experienced captain of a ship that saves her during a storm. Such statesmanship, I may be permitted to say, runs in Your Excellency's family of which in India in general and Bhopal in particular has had experience a hundred years ago.

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6. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda at the State banquet on the 15th November 1909.

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Ladies and Gentlemen, I rise now to propose the health of my illustrious guest, His Excellency the Viceroy. Two of His Excellency's predecessors, Lord Dufferin and Lord Elgin, favoured us with their visits within my time, and as on those occasions I rejoice once more in according a cordial welcome to the august representative of the King-Emperor. Years have lapsed since the visits of the preceding Viceroys, many changes have taken place with the years, but the friendly relations of my State with the British Government remain unchanged, and the firm and unalterable loyalty of my house to the British Throne remains unshaken. Indeed the lapse of years has drawn our mutual relations yet closer. We form portions of the same great Empire. We are inspired by the same object, which is the preservation of peace and public tranquillity, and we are animated by the same wish, which is the promotion of the progress, the prosperity and the happiness of the people.

My Lord, it has always appeared to me that any true progress among the people must embrace their social and moral advancement, as well as their material well-being. I think the true function of Government is not to stand entirely aloof in these matters, but to keep pace with modern times and modern ideas. After all the masses are yet sunk in appalling ignorance, and they need our support, encouragement and help in effecting reforms. To minister to

social and moral advancement has always been the consideration and one of the duties of the sovereign in the East. I have myself sometimes been criticised for taking administrative action to correct social evils and religious abuses. So far, however, as one can judge from the results, my policy has met with some measure of success. In these and in all other matters of internal administration every Native State, in proportion as it enjoys liberty of action, grows in efficiency in securing the welfare of its subjects, and, therefore, in promoting general progress any curtailment of freedom in internal affairs lessens our sense of responsibility, and weakens our power for effecting improvement. Loyalty has always been considered in the East as one of the first virtues in a people. But loyalty, when merely sentimental, is of small value. It should be real, genuine, and active. To secure such loyalty there should be a community of interest between the subjects and the ruling power. The former should have a proper share in the administration of the country and should feel that the Government is their own. It is for this reason that I hail with pleasure those great measures of reform which Your Excellency initiated and which His Majesty's Government have accepted. These reforms will open out to the people of India a larger field of activity, and inspire them with a greater sense of responsibility in the performance of their civic duties, and future generations will recognise in these statesmanlike measures a forward step in the progress and advancement of the community under the rule of England.

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I know full well the difficulties with which education is beset, difficulties which many are liable to ignore in their haste to achieve in a day those results which are attainable only by the patient and selfless work of generations. I would have my people learn that progress, to be real, must have its roots in themselves, that they must look to the orderly conduct of their lives, that it is probity, fair-mindedness, public spirit and loyalty to the State which make good citizens and that he who can subordinate his private interests to the common weal, is he who is fitted for a voice in affairs of State. The truly educated will regard the personal liberty they enjoy as the most precious blessing of civilization, and their duties to the State as essential to their corporate existence.

Those, on the other hand, who confound liberty with license, and seek to undermine authority, must be repressed with a firm hand, and not allowed to endanger the public tranquillity or general progress. These, my Lord, are md ideals of education and self-help. In all my endeavours to achieve progress any to make my subjects worthy citizens, I know that I can rely on Your Excellency's support. I cordially acknowledge the ready assistance which my administration receives from Your Excellency's Government, and as cordially I assure Your Excellency of my readiness to respond, within my power, to any call for co-operation with the Government of India.

I desire, in conclusion, to express on behalf of the Maharani and of myself the gratification that we feel at Lady Minto's visit to our capital, and I wish once more to offer to Her Ladyship and to Your Excellency our heartiest welcome. Our welcome, my Lord, is fraught with the most heartfelt gratitude that Providence has saved Your Excellency from the dastardly attempt at outrage, of which the news has just reached us.

I voice, my Lord, the feelings not only of myself and of my people, but also of the whole of India, in expressing, so far as words can express, our profound horror that such a crime could ever be thought of, much less attempted against one who is not only the representative of His Majesty, but also the truest friend and benefactor of our country.

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7. Extract from the speech of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore at the State banquet on the 25th November 1909.

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On such an occasion it is only fitting that I should touch briefly on public affairs which Your Excellency is directing with so firm and sympathetic a hand

The four years which have elapsed since you came to India have been years of strenuous work and grave anxiety, and the Government of India have had no light task in maintaining that law and order which have always been the watch-word of British Rule in India. The struggle has been a severe and protracted one, but there is every reason to hope that the tide has at last turned, and that—thanks to the firmness and restraint of Your Excellency's Government and to their statesmanlike foresight in recommending and obtaining for educated Indians a larger share of representation, without at the same time relaxing their determination to suppress lawlessness—India may look forward to an era of peace and contentment. Your Excellency, the measures adopted by the Government of India to maintain their authority have always had my sincere sympathy, and I am, and always have been, ready to co-operate to the utmost of my power in loyally supporting those measures. Your Excellency needs no assurance of my own loyalty to our beloved King-Emperor, and as regards my people I take this opportunity of publicly expressing my conviction that they do not forget the intimate associations of the past and are actuated by nothing but friendly feelings for the British race, and by loyalty and gratitude to the Paramount Power. Happily, therefore, it has not been necessary for my Government to adopt any repressive measures except to arm ourselves, as a matter of precaution, with powers against seditious writings in the public press. These powers are, I firmly believe, necessary. Their existence is in itself sufficient to keep in check the evil against which they are aimed, and I trust it may never be necessary to enforce them rigorously. But it is not only as a strong and sympathetic Ruler that Your Excellency's name will live in Indian History. I feel that I may speak in the name of my brother Chiefs in all India when I say that Your Excellency has established a peculiar and special claim to our gratitude and affection by the sympathy and consideration which you have shown both in word and deed in your policy towards Native States. I can say from my heart that we Chiefs respond most warmly to the generous and kindly sentiments which Your Excellency has so frequently and eloquently expressed towards us, and that we shall ever cherish your memory as one of our truest friends and sympathisers. I would also like to express on this occasion the deep horror and indignation which has been aroused all over India, and which is nowhere stronger than in Mysore, at the dastardly outrage recently attempted at Ahmedabad. We all share the universal feeling of thankfulness that your lives and persons were so mercifully protected.

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On the 3rd November, 1909, a State banquet was held at Udaipur in honour of His Excellency the Viceroy and Lady Minto. After the banquet His Highness the Maharana proposed the health of Their Excellencies, and the Viceroy replied as follows :—

Your Highness,—I have listened with sincere pleasure to the words you have addressed to me as the representative of the King-Emperor, and at the same time I am deeply grateful for the cordiality and magnificence of your welcome to Lady Minto, Lady Eileen and myself as your personal guests. I have some advantage over my predecessors in that I think they each of them met Your Highness for the first time on their visits to your State, whereas I have had the good fortune to renew the acquaintance I was so glad to make at Dehra Dun last spring.

It is delightful to be here at last—I say at last, because I can assure Your Highness I had hoped to propose this visit to you long ago if circumstances had permitted it.

It is delightful to have wandered along the battlements and amongst the ruins of Chitor, full of the romance of an historic past and of the memories of the brave deeds of Rajput warriors and the heroic self-sacrifice of Rajput Princesses and to find oneself in the midst of the hills and lakes of your beautiful Udaipur, all the more so at a time when, as Your Highness tells me the blessings of rain have raised the spirits of your people and when the land is full of future promise.

Your Highness has alluded to the anxieties with which I have been confronted during my period of office, to the attempts which have been made to misrepresent the intentions of British administration and to the dastardly crimes which have been committed under the plea of political necessity, and which have aroused the detestation of the people of India against their perpetrators. I trust, however, that as Your Highness has said the skies of India are beginning to clear and the dark clouds to pass away. I am glad to know that loyal Rajputana has been free from the poison which has been scattered elsewhere, and that the ruling Chiefs of India, by the precautions they have taken to bar the entrance of sedition into their possessions, have added still further to the many proofs they have given in past years of their devotion and loyalty to the Crown.

They have shown their determination to safeguard and maintain that identity of interests between the Imperial Government and themselves, upon the mutual recognition of which the future history of India will be so largely moulded.

They have not hesitated manfully to proclaim their loyalty in times of trouble, and they have contributed to the military strength of their country that splendid body of Imperial Service Troops, which is sufficient evidence to the world that they realise all that solidarity of Empire implies.

I congratulate Your Highness on the inauguration of a squadron of Imperial Service Cavalry, and though Your Highness may possibly have experienced the usual difficulties in the organisation of a new corps, I am convinced that when it has been fully formed it will uphold the best traditions of your warlike ancestors. Your Highness may rest assured that the many loyal indications the ruling Chiefs of India have given of their eagerness to support the Supreme Government have not only been warmly appreciated but have done much to shape the policy of that Government and of its officers in their relations to Native States.

It is sometimes asked by ruling Chiefs as well as by the public in India and in Europe what our policy towards Native States is.

I can only tell you that the basis of that policy was laid down in Queen Victoria's Proclamation of 1858 and repeated in the Coronation message of His Majesty the King-Emperor. In 1858 Queen Victoria addressed the Princes of India as follows:—"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and engagements made with them by, or under the authority of, the Hon'ble East India Company are by us accepted and will be

scrupulously observed; and we look for the like observance on their part. We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions; and while we will admit no aggression upon our dominions or our rights to be attempted with impunity, we shall sanction no encroachments on those of others. We shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of Native Princes as our own; and we desire that they, as well as our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and that social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good government." And 44 years later the King-Emperor wrote:—"To all my Feudatories and subjects throughout India I renew the assurance of my regard for their liberties, of respect for their dignities and rights, of interest in their advancement, and of devotion to their welfare, which are the supreme aim and object of my rule, and which, under the blessing of Almighty God, will lead to the increasing prosperity of my Indian Empire, and the greater happiness of its people." In pursuance of these pledges our policy is with rare exceptions one of non-interference in the internal affairs of Native States. But in guaranteeing their internal independence, and in undertaking their protection against external aggression, it naturally follows that the Imperial Government has assumed a certain degree of responsibility for the general soundness of their administration and would not consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of misrule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the community as a whole as well as those of the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs, and other services of an Imperial character. But the relationship of the Supreme Government to the States is one of suzerainty.

Your Highness will, I know, recognise the difficulty that must exist in adhering to an uniform policy owing to the varying conditions of different States. It is this diversity of conditions which renders so dangerous any attempt at complete uniformity and subservience to precedent. I have therefore made it a rule to avoid as far as possible the issue of general instructions and have endeavoured to deal with questions as they arose with reference to existing treaties, the merits of each case, local conditions, antecedent circumstances, and the particular stage of development, feudal and constitutional, of individual principalities.

In a word, the object of my Government has been to interpret the pronouncement of two successive Sovereigns as inculcating—in accordance with the eloquent words of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in his speech at the Guildhall after his return from India—a more sympathetic and therefore a more elastic policy. The foundation stone of the whole system is the recognition of identity of interests between the Imperial Government and Darbars and the minimum of interference with the latter in their own affairs.

I have always been opposed to anything like pressure on Darbars with a view to introducing British methods of administration,—I have preferred that reforms should emanate from the Darbars themselves, and grow up in harmony with the traditions of the State. It is easy to overestimate the value of administrative efficiency—it is not the only object to aim at, though the encouragement of it must be attractive to keen and able Political Officers, and it is not unnatural that the temptation to further it should for example appeal strongly to those who are temporarily in charge of the administration of a State during a minority, whether they are in sole charge or associated with a State Council. Their position is a difficult one—it is one of peculiar trust—and though abuses and corruption must of course as far as possible be corrected, I cannot but think that Political Officers will do wisely to accept the general system of administration to which the Chief and his people have been accustomed. The methods sanctioned by tradition in States are usually well adapted to the needs and relations of the ruler and his people. The loyalty of the latter to the former is generally a personal loyalty, which administrative efficiency, if carried out on lines unsuited to local conditions, would lessen or impair.

I can assure Political Officers I am speaking in no spirit of criticism. No one has a greater admiration of their services than I have. I believe that they themselves very fully recognise that the necessities of the times have somewhat changed. I believe that they will agree with me. I know that they

will loyally endeavour to carry out my views. My aim and object will be, as it has always been, to assist them, but I would impress upon them that they are not only the mouthpiece of Government and the custodian of imperial policy, but that I look to them also to interpret the sentiments and aspirations of the Darbars. It is upon the tactful fulfilment of their dual functions that the Supreme Government and Chiefs must mutually rely. It is upon the harmonious co-operation of Indian Princes and Political Officers that so much depends—co-operation which must increase in value as communications develop and new ideas gain ground. We are at the commencement of a new era of thought in India. We shall have many new problems to face as years go on, problems surrounded with difficulties and anxieties, in the solution of which I trust that the ruling Chiefs of India will ever bear in mind that the interests of themselves and their people are identical with those of the Supreme Government.

Your Highness, I shall always look back upon my visit to Udaipur with many recollections of your magnificent hospitality, the romantic traditions of Rajputana and the enchantment of the palaces, lakes and islands of Mewar.

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